Spring 5-1-2020

Brothers as Men: Masculinity, Homosociality, and Violence Among Fraternity Men

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by

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Honors Thesis and University Scholar Project

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May 2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

As much as I have dedicated my time and energies to this thesis, this work would not have been possible without the insight and guidance of so many people including my committee, my professors, programs at the University of Connecticut, my friends, and my family. While there are not words in the English language to fully express my appreciation and gratitude to these individuals, I will now do my best to make an attempt.

First and foremost, I must acknowledge the role of the committee that helped me through this project. I would like to thank Dr. Françoise Dussart for her guidance throughout this process. Her mentorship in which she has been able to both encourage and challenge me and my work has been invaluable. Additionally, I would like to show my gratitude for Dr. Pamela Erickson for all of her help throughout this project, specifically shepherding me through the IRB process. Finally, I would like to recognize Dr. Daisy Reyes for joining my committee and providing me with a different perspective on the work that I was doing. I am entirely indebted to this group of brilliant scholars who worked tirelessly to support me in this endeavor.

Of course, outside of my committee, there has been a plethora of faculty members who encouraged me and assisted me on the journey that this thesis has been. I would like to show my gratitude for Dr. Jocelyn Linnekin. If she had not given me the opportunity to first outline this project and then guided me through making it into my University Scholar Program proposal, it simply would never have happened. Additionally, I would like to recognize Dr. Richard Sosis for nurturing my burgeoning love for anthropology. In addition to anthropologists, I am also indebted to members of the WGSS program, specifically Dr. Barbara Gurr and Dr. Sherry Zane. On top of helping me finish this thesis, both of these incredible scholars have helped me through my own struggles and have helped me find my footing as a feminist and a scholar.

In addition to these individuals this project would not have been possible without the support and resources of various programs at the University of Connecticut. The University Scholar Program allowed me the opportunity to dream big and to challenge myself with a research project of this magnitude. Also, the Honors Program gave me access to institutional support for this project. Finally, the financial support I was given via the IDEA Grant Program from the Office of Undergraduate Research opened so many doors in this research that would have been otherwise closed to me. Without these programs this project simply would not have been feasible.

Outside of the academic aspects of a project like this one, moral support is crucial to success. I am so lucky that I have been graced with such wonderful friends and family who not only tolerated my obsession with school in general and with this project specifically but went a step farther and encouraged me every step of the way. I would like to thank my friends, specifically Liam Griffin, Morgan Keyt, Leah Miller, and many others, for their support day after day as this project dragged on. I, with my whole heart, would like to thank my dear girlfriend, Abigail York, who's love has kept me going. Finally, I must thank my family, my parents, Tim and Jean McCloskey, as well as my brothers, Christopher and Andrew. I am lucky to have a family full of people like you who have ceaselessly encouraged my creativity and learning and who have gotten me to where I am now. I am indebted to all of these people for being there to listen to me when I was successful and for being a shoulder to cry on when I was not. As much as this was my project, it is, in a way, yours too. Thank you all.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction to the Work

Over the last few decades, masculinities have become a topic of study in the field of gender studies and anthropology. Until this point men and boys were often considered to be the makers of culture and thus represented as the default human condition. As the anthropologist Matthew Gutmann reminds us, "Anthropology has always involved men talking to men about men. Until recently, however, very few within the discipline of the 'study of man' have truly examined men *as men*" (1997, 385 original emphasis). However, this has changed. Now men and boys have become an analytical category and the process of masculinities and gender are being examined. This change has opened up new frontiers for research. These frontiers include understanding masculinity as far more than a single ideal, but rather as an ideology with multiple different patterns (Connell 2005); understanding the relationship between masculinity and homophobia (Anderson 2016); and understanding violence and sexual violence committed by men as a function of masculinity (Kaufmann 1987, Katz 2006). This work is meant to explore and expand these frontiers. Thus, in this thesis I will examine how fraternity men view and understand issues of gender, masculinity and femininity, homosociality, and sexual violence. This will allow us to learn more about how these aspects of culture are understood and how they impact the lives and behavior of fraternity men.

Before this can be done, I need to provide some background. This thesis has been four years in the making. Its origin can be traced back to my first semester at college when, in an English class, I was introduced to the foundational literature of gender studies. From there my curiosity grew until three semesters later in an anthropological methods course where I was tasked with designing a feasible study on a subject of my choice. Due to my burgeoning interest

in the topic I roughly outlined a study of fraternity men and their masculinities. However, I did not believe that this was something I would ever pursue until I had the fortune of coming across the research opportunities and support offered by the Honors Program, the University Scholar Program, and the IDEA Grant Program. Additionally, I came across scholarship that expanded my mind and interests to include concepts such as homosociality. This encouraged me to expand my course work from primarily Anthropology to Women's, Gender, & Sexuality Studies as well. All of these events throughout my college career have led to this thesis.

However, there is also more to this narrative; there is a personal aspect as well. Having been raised in a progressive household, I have often found myself rightfully uncomfortable with my social positioning – a white, typically abled, cisgendered and straight man – which has given me great privilege at the expense of people who do not share these attributes. This has given me the impetus to understand better the systems that perpetuate asymmetrical and hierarchical distributions of power and privilege. This work is meant to join other works which constructively critique the reproduction of inequities. By studying those who benefit from and, actively or passively, reinforce systems of privilege and oppression, I hope to contribute not only interesting research but also research that can hasten the end of these systems. Thus, I seek to elucidate our understanding of men and masculinities in order to sharpen our efforts and change the world for the better.

More specifically, my research aims to support the works of feminist activists such as Jackson Katz and The Representation Project who focus on helping men understand their masculinities and subsequently developing healthier versions of those masculinities. By understanding more about men and their lived experiences we can increase the efficacy of such

endeavors. Studying men and their masculinities can open up theoretical, practical, and political doors for the feminist movement.

Situating the Researcher

In the hopes of achieving some sort of self-reflexivity, I will now introduce myself as the producer of the analysis in this thesis. As I mentioned in the previous section, my intersectional identity is one of privileges. I am a cisgendered and straight man. My upbringing was middle-class in a nice suburb of Connecticut. Due to the color of my skin I have been designated White by society.[1] I am typically abled except for being dyslexic. I also have been a protestant Christian my entire life and consider myself a socialist feminist, though this designation has been more recent. I am an emotional man who is very concerned with the "why" of everything. All of this is in addition to the fact that I am a young, aspiring scholar in the field of anthropology and gender studies.

Methodology

The methodology for the research that was conducted as a part of this project was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Connecticut (protocol H19-075). The primary investigator for this protocol was Dr. François Dussart and I, Daniel McCloskey, was the student investigator.

In this work I have used as many relevant research methods as possible. Methods were drawn from the social sciences broadly defined and from anthropology more specifically. The

[1] I decline to identify as white following the work of scholars such as Noel Cazenave (2016, 2018) who argues that it is not enough to acknowledge whiteness as a privilege. Instead he argues that people who are designated white by society need to eschew that identity because its very existence is entangled with the privileging of some racialized groups and the subordination of others.

methods employed in this study include structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, Likert scales, free listing, pile sorting, and retrospective accounts. Each of these methods was conducted with different subsamples of the 55 total participants. Participants were broken down as follows: 15 participants completed a fully semi-structured interview, 10 participants gave retrospective accounts, and 30 participants completed an interview that included both structured and semi-structured portions as well as some Likert scales. Additionally, of the latter 30 participants, 15 completed a free listing activity and the other 15 completed a pile sorting activity.

Data analysis was conducted in different ways depending on the nature of the information collected. The semi-structured data were manually transcribed and coded in a recursive manner. The free listing and pile sorting data were analyzed through the use of the software ANTHROPAC and UCINET. Otherwise data, such as that from the Likert scales and other pieces of the structured interviews, were analyzed qualitatively.

Context

This research was conducted at a large, public, research one university in New England. The enrollment at this university is slightly over 30,000 that is split between a main campus and four regional campuses. The data was collected at the main campus during the Fall semester of 2019 and at the beginning of the Spring semester of 2020.

It is notable that during the Fall semester, there was an incident at the university involving the drug and alcohol related injury of two fraternity pledges that resulted in the suspension of one Interfraternity Council member fraternity recognized by the university.

Additionally, this is a University that has, in the past, had a reputation for its high rates of sexual violence and highly publicized accusations of inaction by school administration.[2]

Participants

Fraternity men – the subjects for this study – often have a popular reputation for outward displays of masculinity. When this project was first conceived, I had the hope of conducting at least some observations of meetings and functions of a fraternity. However, due to an aversion to prying eyes, so to speak, the fraternity with which I had planned to do this observation backed out and this part of the study was replaced with the retrospective accounts mentioned in the *Methodology* section of this introduction. After the prospect of researching a single fraternity faded the decision was made to recruit from the fraternity population at large. Despite this setback, as I continued to research these subjects, I discovered that fraternities were also a prime example of homosociality, the phenomenon of single gendered social groupings. The fraternity setting proved to be a fitting place for this work, though it was in a different way than was previously expected.

A criterion for participation was membership in a fraternity recognized by the University's Office of Fraternity and Sorority Life (OFSL). These organizations included the historically white organizations of the Interfraternity Council (IFC) and the cultural fraternities of the Intercultural Greek Council (IGC) (Syrett 2009).

Descriptive statistics about the participants in this study can be found in **Figure 1.1** below.

[2] Here, I have not cited sources for these claims. This is only because it would be impossible to do so without naming the site of this research and therefore violating the terms of the IRB approval for this project.

Descriptive Statistics

Sample Size	55
Age	
Range	18-22
Mean	20.3
Median	20
Mode	21
Semesters at University	
Range	1-10
Mean	5.4
Median	5
Mode	5
Semesters in Fraternity	
Range	1-9
Mean	4.3
Median	4
Mode	5
Gender	
Male	55 (100.0%)
Race/Ethnicity*	
White/Caucasian	40 (72.2%)
Asian/Indian	7 (12.7%)
Black/African American	5 (9.0%)
Hispanic/Latino	1 (1.8%)
"Mixed"/Other	2 (3.6%)
Major (by School)	
Liberal Arts and Sciences	20 (36.3%)
Business	13 (23.6%)
Engineering	11 (20.0%)
Fine Arts	1 (1.8%)
Nursing	1 (1.8%)
Pharmacy	1 (1.8%)
Agriculture	5 (9.0%)
Multiple	2 (3.6%)
Undecided	1 (1.8%)

* This category of "Race/Ethnicity" is based on the self-reporting and self-identification of participants in the study

Figure 1.1

The participants skewed slightly older and were concentrated in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, Business, and Engineering schools. The most notable aspect of these characteristics is how overwhelmingly white/Caucasian the participants were. At almost 73%, white fraternity men

made up almost three quarters of the participants. This meshes with the historically white status of IFC fraternities.

Participants were recruited through a few different methods. The main methods were through the posting of flyers around campus and by contacting fraternity presidents and informing them about the opportunity to participate. This accounted for most of the participants. However, when recruitment dried up, individuals were also recruited through social media posts and campus wide email blasts. Thus, much of the recruitment was done through word of mouth resulting in a pseudo-snowball sample. Additionally, anyone who volunteered and met the requirements of being a student actively enrolled in the university, an active member of an OFSL recognized fraternity, a male-identifying person, and being at least 18 years of age, was allowed to participate in the study. Thus, there was also a level of self-selection amongst the individuals who would be willing to talk to an aspiring anthropologist on the topic of gender. Finally, all participants were compensated with a $25 gift card for their participation. This was a centerpiece of recruitment materials and many participants were clear that it motivated their participation. Despite the fact that there are drawbacks to this sampling, they were all necessary for the research to be conducted.

Structure of the Thesis

The subsequent parts of this work are broken down into five chapters. The first chapter, *Gender*, is concerned mainly with how the men in this study understand the concept of gender and how it effects their lives. In this chapter, I discuss the men's laisse-faire attitude towards gender. I argue that this stance, while seemingly progressive, serves to downplay the hierarchical nature of gender and their privileged place in that hierarchy.

The second chapter, *Masculinity*, is similarly concerned with how participants understand their gender and how such understandings impact their lives and identities. On the whole, informants view masculinity as less rigid than the literature might lead one to expect. Participants discussed that their ideals of masculinity were centered around the traditionally masculine attributes of wealth, strength, and power. However, it is more complicated than just this. According to participants, traits such as emotionality and vulnerability become masculine when they are exhibited by a person who already exemplifies other traditionally masculine traits.

The third chapter, *Homosociality*, is an investigation of why men are drawn to the single gendered social environment of the fraternity and what functions such arrangements serve. The literature on this topic focuses on how power and privilege are transmitted through homosocial institutions. Through my research, I found that while privilege is transferred through the fraternity, many of the men spoke of this homosocial institution as a place of genuine friendship and emotional safety as well. Building on existing theoretical frameworks, this chapter describes the complexities of homosocial institutions as a place of *both* emotional safety and privilege transfer. I argue that more attention needs to be paid to the various needs that these arrangements fill in order to understand their function and therefore the ways that they reproduce privilege.

The fourth chapter, *Violence*, describes the role of masculinity in violence committed by men and men's understanding of violence, specifically sexual violence. The data suggests that my informants have a fairly robust understanding of consent and are actively concerned with issues of violence, though this does not seem to be motivated from an altruistic place. However, many of my participants acknowledged a pervasive idea that people expect to engage in some level of sexual activity in contexts where drugs and alcohol are involved, specifically parties. I

argue that this enduring idea is a significant factor in the continuing issue of sexual violence in party and fraternity contexts.

In my conclusion, I summarize how my findings engage with theoretical literature and how these findings could be utilized by activists. In doing so, I hope to make this work relevant not only to academic feminists, but also to the feminist movement at large.

Chapter 2: Gender

Introduction

Before we can begin unpacking issues of masculinity, homosociality, and violence, as the subsequent chapters will do, I first outline, in this chapter, different theories of gender from both anthropologists and gender theorists at large to ground my analysis of how gender is conceptualized by the fraternity men who participated in this study. After reviewing relevant literature, I foreground an in-depth exploration of how participants in this study understand gender and how it shapes their behavior. I conclude by discussing how these ideas surrounding gender, while seemingly enlightened, serve to create space for the reproduction of hegemonic masculinities.

Literature Review

The root of modern gender studies in the US can be traced back to the work of anthropologist Margret Mead in her 1935 work *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. In this book, Mead shows how understandings and expectations of the roles of men and women between these groups vary wildly. She argued "that we may say that many, if not all, of the personality traits which we have called masculine or feminine are as lightly linked to sex as are the clothing, the manners, and the form of head-dress that a society at a given period assigns to either sex" (1935 [1963], 280). Mead introduced the idea that gender is socially constructed as are all other elements of culture. It is from this seed that the modern field of gender studies has blossomed.

The original debate in this field of gender studies is that of essentialism versus social constructionism. The latter is similar to that of Mead's analysis and the former is the modern

incarnation of the Platonic idea that the world is full of "fixed and unchanging forms" (DeLamater & Hyde 1998, 10). Therefore, while there is admittedly diversity in the essentialist school of thought, essentialist framework is articulated around three axiomatic truths:

1. "an essence does not change,"
2. each essence is "categorically different from" other essences
3. variation is attributed "to the imperfect manifestation of the essences" (DeLamater & Hyde 1998, 10).

In other words, essentialists view gender as constant from person to person, across cultures, and across time.

This is an idea that has been embraced by mainstream Euro-American culture and has been spread across the world through the mechanisms of colonialism and coloniality (Lugones 2007). Feminist scholars, however, have deconstructed and unraveled the problems and assumptions with essentialist hegemonic thinking. Following Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's arguement "that reality is socially constructed" (1966, 13), Judith Lorber and Susan Farrell (1991) challenge the essentialist model of gender. They argue that gender is constituted through interactions between people. Like Mead, they separate the concept of biological sex from the socially constructed idea of gender. Though this dichotomy between a physical, biological sex and a social, behavioral gender has been criticized (e.g. Menon 2012, Butler 1993) it is very much the basis of the social construction of gender. The modern understanding of gender is that it is a socially and continually constructed process rather than a set of natural and intrinsic traits.

But how is gender constructed? Many scholars have argued that this is done through a repetition of gendered practices and behaviors. For example, in their 1991 work, "Doing

Gender," Candace West and Don Zimmerman argue that gender is performed in everyday interactions. Gender is constituted through what people "do" instead of something that people "are". They state that, "Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine 'natures'" (126). Judith Butler elaborated this idea with her theory of performativity in her 1999 work *Gender Trouble*. She stressed that gender is simply: "repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame" that creates "a natural sort of being" (43-44). Here, the "regulatory frame" are dominant and normative discourses that reinforce behaviors that are acceptable and rejects those that are not. These normative discourses often take the form of "gender ideology". Gender ideology, as described by S.U. Philips (2001), consists of "beliefs about the proper roles for and fundamental natures of women and men in human societies". These are the beliefs in what is properly masculine or feminine behavior that inform the policing of gender within a gender system. Therefore, gender is a set of appropriate acts that people repeatedly carry out in a way that is acceptable to the dominant gender ideology.

However, this is not the only facet of gender that is relevant. For example, Judith Lorber acknowledges that gendering is a continuous process. She postulates, "In social interaction throughout their lives, individuals learn what is expected, see what is expected, act and react in expected ways, and thus simultaneously construct and maintain the gender order" (1994, 32). She investigates how on a small and interpersonal scale gender creates homogeneous groups and on a large and societal scale gender accentuates the differences between those groups. This leads her to incorporate ideas about power and privilege. Ultimately, she argues that gender is a system for "creating distinguishable social statuses for the assignment of rights and responsibilities" in a "stratified, asymmetric, and unequal way" (1994, 32). Her work dialogues

with the scholarship of Maxine Baca Zinn, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, and Michael Messner (2010), who argue that,

> "The very concept of gender… is based on socially defined difference between women and men. From the macro level of social institutions such as economy, politics, and religion, to the micro level of interpersonal relations, distinctions between women and men structure social relations. Making men and women different from one another is the essence of gender. It is also the basis of men's power and domination." (154)

Though this operates problematically in a gender binary, the idea is still relevant; the way that gender structures our world is one for the purposes of creating unequal groups.

In this chapter, I am specifically concerned with how participants in my study understand gender as a concept and gender in their lives. I will pay close attention to two main issues: their views of gender essentialism versus the social construction of gender and their gender ideology and its effect on their behavior. This gives us insight into their conceptualization of gender and power and into the role of dominant and normative discourses in their lives.

Original Research

Gender and Sex

It seemed reasonable when investigating this topic to start with perceptions of the relationship between sex and gender and in doing so glimpse into ideas about the constitution of gender. As illustrated by the literature review in this chapter, gender essentialism has been largely discredited by feminist scholars who rather have adopted a social constructionist framework. However, essentialist views of gender continue to be common in mainstream American culture. So, this is where I started my semi-structured interviews.

Unsurprisingly, participants understandings of the relationship between sex and gender fell into two groups: essentialist and social constructionist, though they did not use these terms. The former of these was a vocal minority. For example, when asked "Do you feel gender is

determined by sex?", a seventh semester economics major said simply, "Gender is determined by sex". Another participant, a seventh semester political science major, said, "I do see sex and gender as one in the same". This phrasing, emphasizing that *he does see* sex and gender as one in the same, seems to suggest that this participant is at least tacitly acknowledging that other people may view gender differently. A seventh semester environmental engineering major was more ambiguous in his answer. He recognized that sex and gender were "separate things," but that he thought there was "a correlation" between the two. This participant seems to be timidly trying to reconcile an essentialist ideology with discourse about the social construction of gender.

The other, larger group of participants perceived gender as not determined by sex. For example, one participant, a fifth semester marketing and economics double major explained that in school,

> "I was taught that like your sex is like what you are born with like what they write down on the paper, like a male/female kind of thing, and then your gender is like what you choose it to be or I guess it's not a choice, but like what you identify yourself as. But I think without going to school, I probably would have said that they were the same thing."

This was a common sentiment. Clearly a college education has had an impact on how some participants disentangle the cultural perception of biological sex and gender as an identification process. A fifth semester finance major also recognized that "sex, it's a biological thing" and gender is "what you feel comfortable as". Many participants emphasized their perception of sex as a biological truth and gender as something social. There were also a few participants who were unsure about what was meant by the terms "sex" and "gender". However, when I explained the general difference to them, they discussed the importance of distinguishing the two concepts as well.

There was some notable diversity in this second group. This came from a third semester actuarial sciences major who recognized the difference between sex and gender, but with the

caveat that at one point they were connected “in the past,” but nowadays “they’re separate things”. Among a few participants there was a notion that the socially constructed nature of gender is a modern deviation, something that has not been the case in the past. This conception of historical context suggests that while social constructionism is the basis for the current prevailing thought, there is credence to essentialist ideas as they have held precedence in the past. This allows them to at least partially hold onto the system that gender essentialism creates and the power that it provides them.

This line of questioning made it clear that while there was a majority of participants who recognized the socially constructed nature of gender it was tied to the ideas that biological sex is an axiomatic truth, a topic on which scholars are not settled; that social constructionism and the difference between gender and sex are a concept that would have been foreign were it not taught to them; and that there are at least elements of this idea that are a modern invention. Though social constructionism has been accepted, it is not without diversity of opinion.

Gendered Behaviors

In order to understand their conceptions of gender, participants were asked, “Are there natural behaviors or attributes that come with different genders?”. This question gets to the core of the concept of gender essentialism. Their answers were more diverse than those in the previous section. While, when asked outright if gender is constituted by sex, participants generally understand that this is not the case, when addressed in more concrete terms some of these participants still see connections between gender and a person’s abilities and attributes. In other words, ideas surrounding gender essentialism do in fact still influence how these men understand gender in the form of attributes and abilities.

For example, a group of participants were very sure that there are indeed natural behaviors with which people are born. It was common for these participants to say that men are naturally ambitious and independent and women are naturally caring and sensitive. These participants were certain that while it may not be intrinsic to gender identity there are behaviors that are intrinsic to people's sex. For example, a seventh semester political science and economics double major, stated, "males tend to be more aggressive and like females have a… kind of motherly instinct". A seventh semester actuarial science major took this one step further explaining that, "evolutionarily speaking the men are always supposed to like protect" and "kind of like [be] the protector and like the woman is supposed to like be protected and like nurse the children, evolutionarily speaking". This same group of participants argued that people are intrinsically inclined to certain behaviors due to biological sex rather than their gender. This conflation of sex and gender is the basis of gender essentialism whether they articulate it this way or not. Therefore, while participants generally rejected the idea of essentialism, they still held these essentialist ideas. This seems to be another way that essentialist ideas are reconciled with evidence that gender is socially constructed.

A slightly larger group of participants argued that gendered behaviors are rooted in socialization. One seventh semester environmental engineering major, explained that people develop gendered behaviors because they are "learned over like a lot of years". Another participant, a fifth semester physiology and neurobiology and healthcare management double major, echoed this view that gendered behaviors are "acquired because of social expectations". There was even one participant, a seventh semester allied health major, who, in response to this line of questioning, said, "I mean I guess like everything is a social construct, right?". Therefore, about a third of participants fully recognized the ways that gender is constituted through social

processes. This focus on learning to perform gendered behaviors aligns very well with existing theory.

All of this considered, the largest single group of participants were those who viewed gender as a mixture of the two concepts. For example, a fifth semester computer science engineering major, focused his answer on the idea that men have certain "instincts" based in "hormones" because "we're all animals". However, at the same time he also spoke about how gendered behaviors are "definitely learned too, like society like makes it okay a lot of the time". A third semester nursing major, stated, "Obviously, in a perfect world I would say no [people do not have behaviors that are natural for different genders], but I honestly believe that there still are". However, this participant also explained that "stereotypes," such as media portrayals, inform much of what is understood as masculine. Finally, a third semester digital media and design major, expounded on the idea that "physical strength" is determined by one's gender, citing how he felt that by "male standards" female athletes are "not like very good". At the same time, he considers himself "an art guy" and that identification might not be considered as masculine as, say, "a lumberjack," but that this type of preference is taught. Thus, as much as there were participants who espoused essentialist or social constructionist views of gender, there was a sizeable group that straddled this line of demarcation and understood gender in a grayer way. I would argue that again, this is a way of reconciling essentialist understandings of the world with an intellectual knowledge of social constructionism. In essence, these participants are saying that some behavior is rooted in biological sex and other behaviors are learned through social interactions. This results in a hybridization of the ideas.

Gender Ideology

Gender ideology, or how someone believes others should perform gender, can be telling when trying to understand how someone conceptualizes gender. For example, if someone thinks that all men should work to conform to a set masculine norm, that might suggest that that person has a fairly essentialist view of gender. Additionally, gender ideology is the basis for the "highly rigid regulatory frame" which is so important to Butler's theory (1999, 43). In order to ascertain information about the gender ideologies of the participants in my study, they were presented with the case of a man who lacked the masculine traits they had defined and were asked to express their thoughts and feelings about such a person. This technique proved to be effective in gathering information about participants' gender ideologies

None of the men who participated in this study had strong outward gender ideologies; no participants thought they would have any negative feelings toward a man who was not masculine. Instead almost all of the participants who talked about their gender ideologies had a very individualistic view of gender. This is very similar to what was seen in the *Gender & Sex* section of this chapter. For example, a seventh semester political science major said that, on issues of gender and behavior, "I think that's just individuality". A fifth semester actuarial science major, explained that, in terms of gender expression, "people are entitled to do what they want like" and went on to say that "like if one person doesn't follow 'manly' traits, who am I to say that's messed up?". Almost all of the participants in this study explained that gendered behavior was an issue of individuality and because of this they felt they had no standing to be uncomfortable with someone else's display of gender.

While almost all of the participants in this study took this very individualistic view of gendered behavior, a couple participants took this idea a step farther. A handful of participants

spoke very positively of the idea of someone, a man specifically, acting in such a way that is intentionally counter to gendered expectations. For example, one seventh semester political science and economics double major, explained that if a man where to intentionally subvert masculine expectations, his response would be: "I think that's good for him, you know, break the mold!" Therefore, they do not outwardly espouse any strict views of what doing gender correctly looks like and actually have views counter to what might have been expected.[3]

It is notable that there did seem to be an issue of proximity on the subject of gender regulation. For example, a seventh-semester communications major, clarified that, were a member of his fraternity to act in a less than masculine way he would gently correct their behavior. Therefore, it does seem that there are some limits to this weak gender ideology.

Conclusion

The analysis of these interviews highlights two main themes: 1) participants seem to struggle with the dissonance between essentialist understandings of gender and evidence of the social construction of gender and that 2) expression of gender is viewed as an individualistic choice that every person is entitled to make for themselves. The first of these has resulted in a hybridization of beliefs on the subject of gendered behavior; a belief that is halfway between essentialism and social constructionism. Often men would be unsure about different terms (for example, differences between "sex" and "gender") and contradict themselves throughout the course of an interview. Thus, their understandings of gender are unstable and inconsistent. But, in the end, I would argue, it allows them to preserve at least a degree of essentialist ideology.

[3] It is worth noting, however, that it is very much possible that there are implicit ways that these men regulate gender interpersonally through behavior. Since this study only investigated these topics through interviews, these types of regulation were not scrutinized. Thus, in reality it is possible that gender enforcement and regulation may not be as free and egalitarian as these interviews alone might lead one to believe.

The most interesting theme is how these men understand expressions of gender as an issue of individual taste and freedom. On the surface this seems to be an egalitarian view of gender that, at least partially, would degrade the strict regulatory system which Butler brings to our attention. This view of gender as an element of individual self-expression is similar to that of many queer and trans theorists such as Leslie Fienberg (1999). However, as Cressida Heyes (2003) argues, this view of gender as only an issue of expression is "a failure to understand gender as relational (and hierarchical)" (1095). Heyes explains that this way of thinking of gender "does not examine the fact that the expression of one gender may limit the possible meanings or opportunities available to others. Adopting the language of individual freedom of expression with regard to gender, then, will sidestep important ethicopolitical questions that arise from gender relations and the demands of community" (1095). Therefore, by viewing gender as something that is only an issue of individual choice men are able to overlook the realities of the power relations embedded in gender. I would, thus, argue that the reason that this understanding of gender exists among the participants in the study is that it leaves room for their masculinities and the power relations that exist around them to continue to exist unexamined; if gender is simply an issue of individual expression then criticizing any expression, even that of the most hegemonic masculinity, would be off base. This view of gender is one that seems liberatory, but in actuality is a mechanism of hegemonic self-preservation.

Chapter 3: Masculinity

Introduction

The previous chapter was concerned with how gender impacts everyday life, how it is conceptualized and how the participants in this study understand it. In this chapter, I will examine a type of gender in masculinity. Masculinity, while often associated with male bodies, means much more as it lies at the crossroads of gender, power, and privilege. First, I review the theoretical foundations and historical development of relevant theories of masculinity in the field of gender studies. Then, I examine how study participants understood themselves as men and their masculinities. Finally, I propose a further elucidation of our understanding of masculinity grounded in my research findings.

Literature Review

Much of the literature on masculinity has been concerned with the issue of defining it as a concept. This is an endeavor that has not yet been settled and there is ongoing debate on the subject. In the introduction to their edited volume on the subject of masculinity, Pascoe and Bridges (2016) make the basic, but crucial observation that "'Man' refers to a state of being; 'masculinity" refers to much more: identity, performance, power, privilege, relations, styles, and structures" (3). Therefore, masculinity is far more than just being a man, much like in the previous chapter it became clear that the existing literature shows that gender is far more than someone's body. They go on to state that most people employ a "I know it when I see it" approach to masculinity when masculinity is defined by what it is not (not feminine, not gay, etc.). It seems that masculinity is a cultural concept that is so basic, so ingrained, and so

hegemonically accepted that it is difficult to see it on its own. Masculinity is difficult to see and its hegemony seems invisible.

Pascoe and Bridges cite Robert Brannon and Deborah S. David's (1976) work *Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role* as some of the first scholarship to address masculinity in a behavioral and cultural mode instead of an essentialist one. They theorized that there were in fact four roles that men played in order to be masculine. The first of these was "No Sissy Stuff" which is a rejection of perceived femininity and everything associated with it specifically "openness and vulnerability" (12). The next is the "Big Wheel" which is a desire for "success" and a "need to be looked up to" (12). After that is the "Sturdy Oak" which puts a premium on "toughness, confidence, and self-reliance" (12). Finally, there is "Give 'Em Hell!" which is an "aura of aggression, violence, and daring" (12). This made up the core of their theory of masculinity. Their approach has been heavily criticized for its implicit assumptions such as a supposed universality of masculinity (Pleck 1983).

After this theorization fell out of favor, the largest impact on the field of masculinities has come from the sociologist Raewyn Connell, specifically in her (2005) book entitled *Masculinities*. She considers many different possible approaches to definitions of masculinity (essentialist, positivist, normative, semiotic) and argues that, "'Masculinity,' to the extent the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (71). Additionally, she illustrates how culturally masculinity is built in opposition to femininity, and by extension, homosexuality, and solidifies the idea that masculinity and power in a patriarchal society are inseparable. However, the most notable contribution of this work is the recognition that masculinity is not a single ideal, but a

different ideal for every person who is masculine. For example, she states, "With growing recognition of the interplay between gender, race and class it has become common to recognize multiple masculinities: black as well as white, working-class as well as middle-class" (76). Thus, she pluralizes the concept from *masculinity* to *masculinities*. In order to understand the rough outlines of different types of masculinities Connell presents four "patterns" of masculinities: Hegemony, Subordination, Complicity, and Marginalization (77). The first of these is "Hegemony". Hegemonic masculinity is "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of the patriarchy, which guarantees… the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (77). The next is "Subordination". Subordinated masculinities are those who are dominated by other men. Connell notes that the "most important case in contemporary European/American society is the dominance of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men" which has resulted in various forms of violence (78). Homosexuality, "in patriarchal ideology, is the repository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity, the items ranging from fastidious taste in home decoration to receptive anal pleasure" (78). The next pattern is "Complicity". This is masculinity that is not outwardly as hegemonic but is that of men who still "gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women" (79). Finally, there is "Marginalization". This is the result of "interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race [which] creates further relationships between masculinities" (80). This accounts for masculinities that are left out of the dominant cultural ideal of masculinity in a racist and neoliberal society. Connell lays out a very full view of what masculinity is and how it can be seen, though this is generally limited to the Euro-American context.

Connell's work has since been amended. Notably by James Messerschmidt and Raewyn Connell, herself (2005) as well as by the scholar Eric Anderson (2016). Anderson zeros in on homophobia and "homohysteria", the fear of being perceived as gay, as the driving forces behind hegemonic masculinity in American culture since at least the 1980's. He adds a fifth pattern to Connell's theory: "Inclusive" masculinity. He suggests that with a decrease of homophobia and homohysteria there will be inclusive masculinity. Such masculinities exist without "physical domination and discursive marginalization… present instead is a broadly horizontal ordering of masculinities where popularity is determined by a host of variables that are not prescribed by ones' masculinity" (181). Though this theory is at least to some degree reductive, Anderson brings up important points about the role of homophobia in masculinity in contemporary American culture.

Power, racism, and homophobia are part and parcel of the mainstream American ideal of masculinity. Todd Reeser in his (2010) book entitled *Masculinities in Theory* highlights other aspects of masculinity that must be taken into consideration. Reeser outlines a series of six main observations about the nature of masculinity. The first of these is that "there is no single or simple origin to masculinity, and… it cannot be isolated as beginning in a single place or at a single point". Rather, it is "constantly created and challenged in numerous ways" (37). Additionally, he points out that masculinity is ideological and discursive. He also argues that masculinity can be understood as "sign" (64). Masculinity is wrapped up in linguistic and symbolic understandings. The example that is given is that masculinity, at least in English, is linguistically understood as the "natural opposite" of femininity. Finally, he observes that masculinity is "in dialog" – constantly being questioned and negotiated by individuals (71) and it is in "continual movement" meaning that the concept itself is constantly changing (78). These

observations not only illustrate how unstable the idea of masculinities is, but also provide some tools to understand the shapes of masculinities. Another aspect of masculinities is their relationship with different types of violence which has been widely studied by scholars (see Kaufman 1987). This relationship will be explored in the *Violence* chapter of this thesis.

In addition to theories on the nature of masculinity there have been some attempts to describe what studying masculinity looks like. Stephen Whitehead and Frank Barrett (2001) defined it as the "critical study of men, their behaviors, practices, values, and perspectives" (14). This definition at first glance, much like the theory of Brannon and David earlier, seems reasonable. However, as CJ Pascoe (2007) points out, this connects masculinity very much to male bodies in a problematically essentialist way. In order to mitigate this problem, she redefines it as the study of "masculinizing discourses and practices" (9). This shows how in studying masculinities we must resist the urge to study men, and instead study the masculinities around them; while men are often seen as the bearers of masculinity, as much of the literature suggests masculinity is far more than just about men.

Anthropological research has much to offer to the theorization of masculinities as they are lived. There are two very important cross-cultural works that review much of the anthropological record on the topic of masculinities. The first of these is David Gilmore's (1990) *Manhood in the Making*. Gilmore's main conclusion is that, while there are some similarities between masculinities throughout the world, there is not enough evidence to suggest a "deep structure" of masculinity or a "global archetype of manliness" (220). However, he observes that across many cultures there are competitive aspect to masculinity and men often articulate the idea of a "real man" or a "true man" who is able to fully fill the masculine role. In his book *Trafficking in Men* (1997) Matthew Gutmann, building off Gilmore's work, agrees that

masculinity is often both prescriptive and competitive but that the degree to which this happens varies widely from culture to culture. The most important part of this work, though, is how Gutmann outlines four ways in which anthropologists have understood masculinity. These four definitions are as follows:

> "The first concept of masculinity holds that it is, by definition, anything that men think and do. The second is that masculinity is anything men think and do to be men. The third is that some men are inherently or by ascription considered 'more manly' than other men. The final manner of approaching masculinity emphasizes the general and central importance of male-female relations, so that masculinity is considered anything that women are not." (386)

This outline runs through the different theoretical definitions cited above. These grounded perspectives both support the theoretical scholarship and add new insights.

Grounded in the scholarship discussed above, I now turn to the data collected in this study. In the remainder of this chapter I will be looking to understand how the men in my study understand themselves and behave as men and to be more masculine with a special eye to understandings of femininity and homophobia. In doing so I outline information about their masculinities and how it effects their lives as well as elucidate from a grounded perspective the nature of masculinities.

Original Research

Constructions of Masculinity

Here I analyze 30 structured interviews as well as 15 semi-structured interviews where participants were able to expound on different pertinent topics. Altogether, this gave insight into how participants understand themselves as men.

One of the first questions I asked the participants in structured interviews was, "Who is a famous person or public figure that really exemplifies being a man to you?" The goal of this

question was to ascertain some of the aspects and attributes that these men find most masculine. The results can be seen in **Figure 3.1** below.

Response	Frequency
Barack Obama	3
Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson	3
Tom Brady	3
Lebron James	2
Tom Hanks	2
Winston Churchhill	2
Ashton Kutcher	1
Will Smith	1
Muhammad Ali	1
Tarzan	1
Edward Snowden	1
A$AP Rocky	1
Tom Selleck	1
Derek Jeter	1
Rocky Balboa	1
Terry Crews	1
Freddie Mercury	1
Ronald Regan	1
Matthew McConaughey	1
Arnold Schwarzenegger	1
Other	1

Figure 3.1

The most obvious, but easily overlooked aspect of these responses is that they are all cisgendered men. This suggests that, while masculinity, theoretically is not necessarily tied to male bodies or even men at all, for the participants there is a connection. Looking further into this list intersectionally, there are a number of observations that can be made. For example, half of these men are white and the other half are people of color. This is notable because according to Connell's theory masculinity is tied to whiteness. However, all of the men of color on this list possess classically masculine attributes such as being strong/athletic, being successful/wealthy, etc. Thus, they are able to be elevated to the hegemonic ideal of masculinity through these

attributes. In the list above 12 (40%) are wealthy celebrities, 8 (26.6%) are professional athletes, 6 (20%) are political leaders, and 4 (13.3%) are something else or multiple. For example, Arnold Schwarzenegger fits into multiple categories because at different points in his career he has been all three of these things (a celebrity, an athlete, and a political leader). Masculinity seems here tied very much to wealth and success, strength and physical ability, and power and control. Other identities also come into play. For example, only one response, Freddie Mercury, is a queer person. All of these attributes feed into a generally hegemonic construction of masculinity.

However, this becomes more complicated when we understand the rationale that interviewees gave for these responses. For example, it was very common for participants to select people for the classically masculine reasons outlined above, but also because these men also exemplified characteristics that are not only masculine. For example, participants who responded with Dwayne Johnson said that in addition to his physical strength he is also masculine because he is "humble" and "a nice guy". This was similar to the participant who responded with Muhammad Ali. He told me that Muhammad Ali was masculine because he was a strong athlete *and* he was a principled man who stood up for what he believed.

This idea that masculinity is connected to these interpersonal traits was epitomized by the participant whose response is categorized under "Other" in the table. This participant believed that he could not answer the question because he did not know any famous person or public figure intimately enough to select one. He went on to say that masculinity is about who you are internally and how you treat other people. While this participant declined to choose an answer, his definition of masculinity still aligned well with other responses.

Masculinity seems to be overwhelmingly tied up in the following attributes: financial success and status, physical strength, and political power. However, masculinity is also tied up in other attributes such as benevolence, kindness, and humility. Yet it is fairly evident that these are masculine in *combination* to hegemonically or traditionally masculine traits. The former attributes that are not necessarily considered masculine only become masculine traits because they are in addition to various already masculine traits.

To further understand masculine traits, participants were asked to free list as many traits that fit into the prompt: "Fill in the blank. Men are _____." The most frequent results of this free list can be found in **Figure 3.2**[4] below.

Listed Terms	Original Frequency	Edited Frequency	Compounded Terms
Strong	11	14	physically dominant, tough, big
Funny	2	4	goofy, fun
Stupid	2	4	dumb, ignorant
Intense	1	3	passionate, dedicated
Loud	1	3	irritating, rowdy
Risk-taking	2	3	reckless
Smart	2	3	intelligent
Stubborn	2	3	strong-headed
Aggressive	2	2	
Careless	1	2	unthinking
Caring	1	2	compassionate
Hardworking	2	2	
Privileged	1	2	empowered
Weak	2	2	
Emotionless	2	2	

Figure 3.2

This shows that physical strength is by far the most commonly recognized masculine trait. This data is also interesting because it shows crude attributes ("loud", "intense", "stubborn",

[4] You will find that there are two frequencies in this table and in all other tables presenting free listing data. The first of these ("Original Frequency") are the raw counts of each of these traits and the second ("Edited Frequency") are the counts of each of these terms after the data was cleaned up and the terms listed under "Compounded Terms" were added. The full list of terms for this free list can be found in Appendix 1.

"aggressive"), but also more refined ones ("funny", "smart", "caring"). Additionally, there are a series of contradictions ("strong"/"weak, "smart"/"stupid") which suggests that dominant understandings of masculine traits are not homogenously normative.

This data on masculine traits is complicated and elucidated by other data gathered from the second free list that was conducted. This free list asked participants to list as many traits that fit into the prompt: "Fill in the blank. Women are _____." Considering the theoretical significance of the relationship between masculinity and femininity, this is helpful in better understanding constructions of masculinity. The most frequent results from this free list can be found in **Figure 3.3**[5] below.

Listed Terms	Original Frequency	Edited Frequency	Compounded Terms
Strong	9	9	
Caring	5	6	nurturing
Emotional	6	6	
Funny	1	3	fun, goofy
Smart	3	3	intellgent
Weak	2	3	small
Careful	1	2	care taking
Creative	2	2	
Independent	2	2	
Loving	2	2	
Nice	2	2	
Responsible	2	2	
Thoughtful	2	2	
Organized	1	2	neat

Figure 3.3

It is notable that the most frequent response to this prompt was the same as the previous pile sort, "strong". This is in addition to other repeats such as "funny" and "smart". However, more emotional language was elicited for this response ("caring", "emotional", "careful").

[5] The full list of terms for this free list can be found in Appendix 2.

Additionally, these are often the opposite of that were given for masculine traits such as men are "careless" and women are "careful" or men are "emotionless" and women are "emotional". Therefore, this suggests that for these participants there is indeed a level of symbolic opposition between masculinity and femininity.

This data on masculine and feminine traits was combined and used in a pile sorting activity. This was a free pile sort, so the only instructions were to sort the terms however the participant saw fit. Data was then run through ANTHROPAC and UCINET and charted using multidimensional scaling. This scale can be found in **Figure 3.4**[6] below.

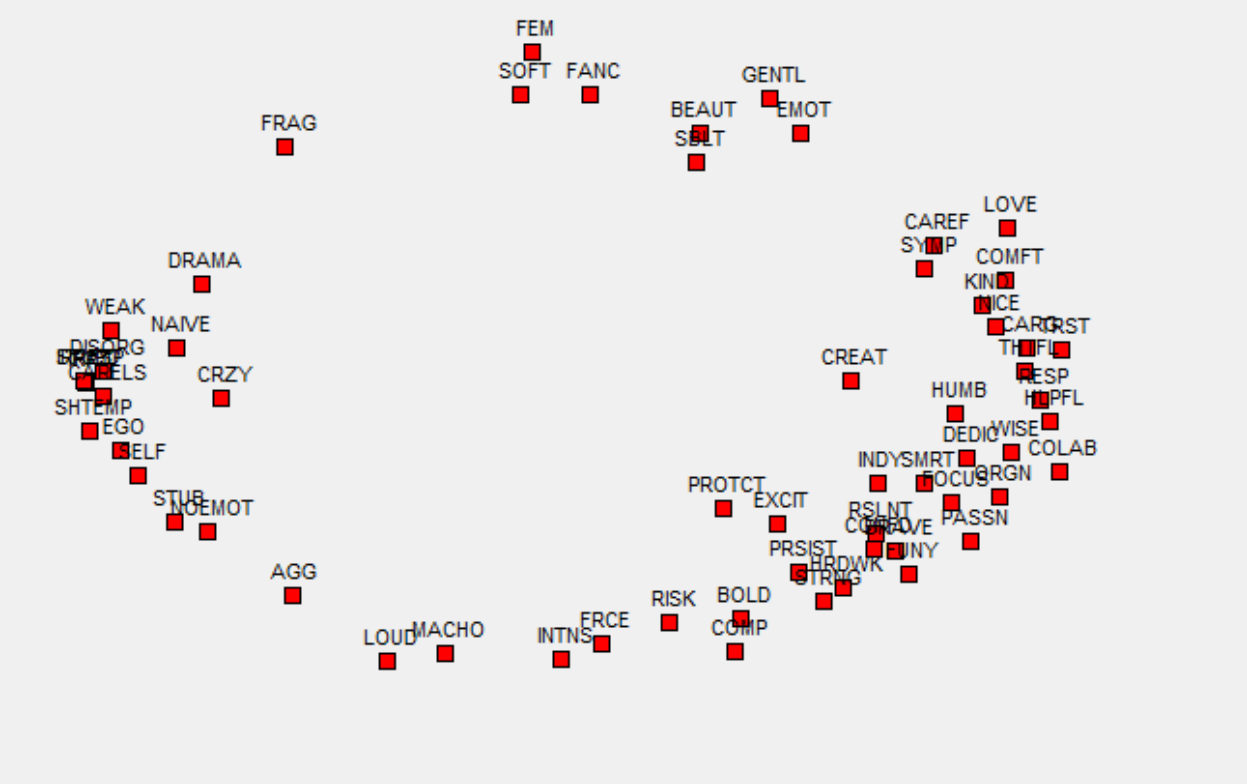

Figure 3.4

This graphic shows the relationships between the terms elicited. It is clear that there were some terms that are considered positive that are clustered to the right (such as "protective",

[6] The list of abbreviations and their meanings can be found in Appendix 3.

"loving", "kind") and others that are considered negative that are clustered to the left (such as "egotistical", "crazy", "weak"). This is seemingly done without much of a gendered motivation. However, we do see how generally masculine traits, found near the bottom of the scale (such as "bold", "risk-taking", "competitive"), are more closely associated with positive traits than the more feminine traits, found near the top of the scale (such as "gentle", "emotional", "beautiful"). This suggests that masculine and feminine traits in these clusters are perceived as quite different by participants. However, considering the closer proximity of masculine traits to the more generally positive traits, it is clear that masculine traits are regarded more closely with these positive traits than the feminine ones.

In addition to masculinity being associated with men and their behaviors, masculinity has a competitive component. In other words, masculinity is about showing that someone is a "real" man. In order to investigate this phenomenon, a free list was conducted that instructed participants to list all of the ways "a guy can show he is a real man". The most common results to this free list can be found in **Figure 3.5**[7] below.

Listed Terms	Original Frequency	Edited Frequency	Compounded Terms
Being honest	1	6	able to be honest, able to admit wrongs, admitting mistakes, honest, truthful
Being emotional	1	4	being emotionally supportive, being thoughtful, opening up
Being helpful	1	4	caring for friends and family, making others better, helping others
Being physically strong	1	4	wieght lifting, being fit, playing sports
Being well rounded	1	4	managing responsibilities, balancing school and social, able to balance
Being humble	1	3	able to be humble, able to apologize
Being open minded	1	3	willing to change their mind, listening to others
Being powerful	1	3	authority, taking charge
Being respectful	1	3	showing respect, respecting others
Standing up for beliefs	3	3	
Being aggressive	1	2	aggressive
Being level headed	1	2	making tough choices
Being skilled	1	2	working on cars
Being vulnerable	1	2	crying
Defending others	1	2	willing to defend others
Having self control	2	2	
Not being macho	1	2	not proving dominance
Not hurting others	1	2	not putting others down
Not showing weakness	1	2	not showing negative emotions
Respecting women	2	2	

Figure 3.5

[7] The full list of terms for this free list can be found in Appendix 4.

The most intriguing aspect of these results is the placement of non-hegemonic aspects of masculinity. Many more classically masculine behaviors (such as being physically strong, being powerful, standing up for beliefs) are included, but there are also some generally feminine behaviors (such as being emotional and being vulnerable). Specifically, the placement of "being emotional" as the second most frequent term was very surprising as that is often classified as a very feminine trait. This suggests that while there are classically masculine ways to show that one is a "real man," there is evidence that it is also masculine to be able to subvert those expectations and also be things like emotional and vulnerable. This is very similar to the ideas conveyed at the beginning of the chapter that dealt with examples of ideal masculinity; there is an element of masculine ideology that values the ability of already masculine men to show that they can also express some traits that are considered to be more feminine. Thus, there is a premium put on men that can be the ideal *and* subvert the expectations of that ideal at the same time.

Masculinity and the Body

Masculinity can be understood as apart from a culturally perceived male body. Participants' understanding of the role of the male body in masculinity and manliness is therefore paramount. In order to discern this, agreement was sought with the statement, "A person can be a man without male genitalia," and the topic was broached in semi-structured interviews. The results of the former can be found in **Figure 3.6** below.

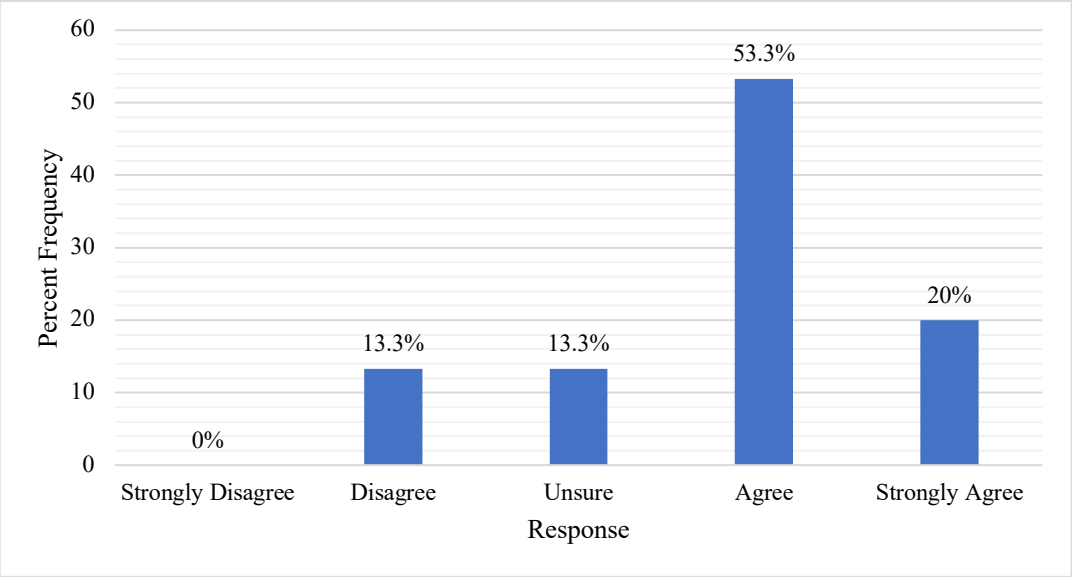

Figure 3.6

Considering the discursive connection between the concept of masculinity and physical maleness, it was unexpected to have a large majority answering “Agree” or “Strongly Agree”. This suggests that there is a greater acceptance of transgender identities amongst the interviewees. This was expounded upon by participants in semi-structured interviews.

Participants espoused two different views of this topic. The first of these was that gender is an issue of identity, not bodily anatomy. For example, a third semester nursing student zeroed in on the difference between gender and sex. After expounding on how they feel sex is tied closely to the physical body they concluded that gender “has nothing to do with your physical attributes, it's just your mental state and who you feel you associate with more”. A fifth semester marketing and economics double major instead focused on the performative aspects of gender, without using those words of course. This participant told me that if someone is a “breadwinner” and is able “to provide for the family” then “who cares like what kind of genitalia you have?” He went on to say, “if you can like get the jobs done, then you can get it done”. Thus, for some of my participants there was a clear recognition of masculinity as an issue of performance rather than of the body.

The other and more pervasive view was more laissez faire. This centered on the idea that if someone purported to be a man that was good enough to make them a man as these participants did not see themselves as the arbiters of gender or masculinity. A number of participants seemed to agree with the idea that, as a seventh semester environmental engineering major put it, "You can identify as a man, I'll view you as a man". A fifth semester actuarial sciences major, went farther saying, "If they're saying they're a man… who am I to be like, 'No, you're not.' You know yourself better than [I do]". This is very much on the same line as the conclusions drawn on individualistic conceptions of gender that were explored in the previous chapter.

This is not to say that these relaxed views of manhood were the only ones present. Indeed, there were dissenters who espoused a more classic idea about the relationship between male genitalia and manhood. A seventh semester political science major simply said that they view gender "as the same as sex". A fifth semester computer science engineering major, talked about how he thought that gender could be changed, but it requires a change in the physical body. He explained that a person can identify however they want, but it is not true if it does not match their physical anatomy. This led to a reference to transgender people where he said, "that's why they get the transition to like be a man or woman". While this specific view was unique to this participant, it does show that there were some views of manhood that were essentialist and very much tied to the male body.

Masculinity and Homophobia

Masculinity, the literature makes abundantly clear, is very much tied to homophobia. This is rooted in a rejection of homosexuality as a manifestation of a feminized man. Thus,

much like in the previous section, agreement was gauged with the statement, “Men are still men if they have sex with other men,” and the topic was investigated in semi-structured interviews. The results of the latter can be found in **Figure 3.7** below.

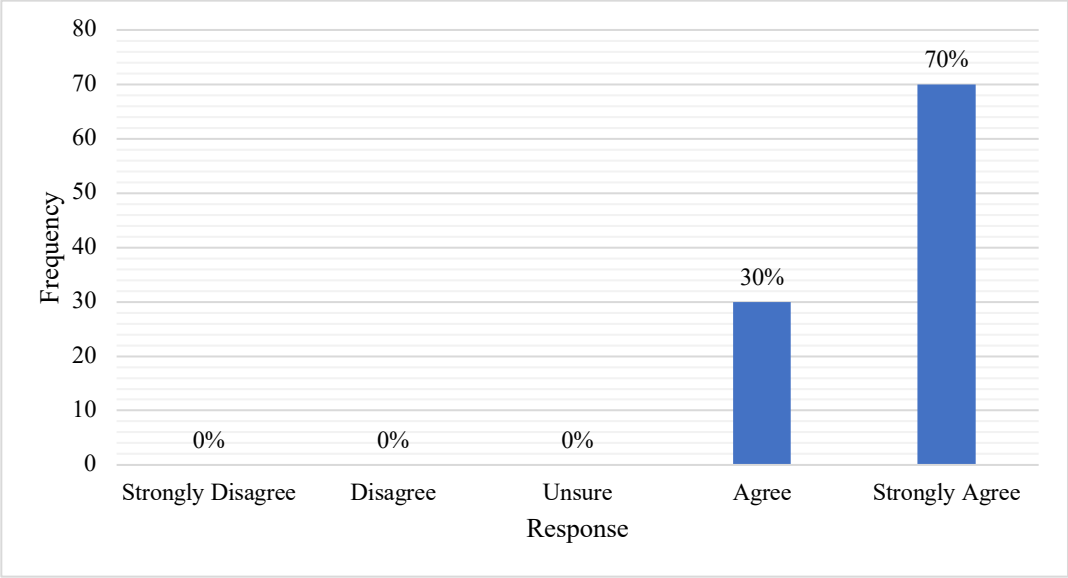

Figure 3.7

Again, much like in the previous section, considering the theoretical connections between masculinity and the rejection of homosexuality, this outcome was surprising. With all of the participants answering with some level of agreement, this suggests a change in the nature of masculinity. That being said, data collected in semi-structured interviews shows that this may not be as groundbreaking as it might at first seem.

Some participants in this study were outwardly accepting of homosexuality. For example, a third semester digital media and design major, who, when asked about his view on gay men and men who have sex with other men, said emphatically, “All the power to you”. However, the majority had a more ambivalent and indifferent view. Such as one seventh semester communications major, who stated,

> “Like I don’t mind if a man has sex with a man. It’s 2019 so like there are lots of people who prefer to have sex with people of their own sex and you can’t really do anything about it. There’s nothing bad about it, it’s just the way they are, they can’t really control

> it. It's like when a man has feelings for a woman, a man can have like for a man. It's not his fault, he can't control it."

This was a fairly common view of homosexuality. Many men understood that times had changed and because of that, this was acceptable behavior whether or not they had trepidations on the topic. It is obvious considering the final sentence of the above quote, that this participant accepted homosexuality as something that he cannot stop and thus has accepted it, but he does not have a positive view of homosexuality as saying "not his fault" implies a level of transgression in the behavior in question. Therefore, while we see some level of recognition of this behavior, it is not an enthusiastic acceptance if homosexuality. Men's views of homosexuality will be discussed further in the homosociality chapter of this thesis.

Conclusion

This investigation into how fraternity men define masculinities has shown that their definitions are more complex than one might have expected. The participants construct their masculinities grounded in classically masculine and/or hegemonically masculine behaviors and attributes. In other words, it is taken for granted that a masculine man will be wealthy like a celebrity, physically strong like a professional athlete, or powerful like a politician. Men are expected to display their masculinity by being physically dominant, aggressive, or standing up for themselves or a combination of any of those attributes and behaviors. However, this is not the limit for what is considered masculine. Indeed, in addition to these traits masculine men must also be well-rounded or philanthropic and show that they can be emotional or vulnerable as well. It is important to note that it is not considered very masculine to only be the latter, but that it must be an additional aspect of a masculine person.

Additionally, the participants were, not outwardly very homophobic and there is at least nominal acceptance of transgender masculinity. However, these sentiments mostly took the form of indifference and had an undertone of begrudging acceptance.

It is important to consider these definitions of masculinities in the context of existing theory. It seems as though the hegemonic idea of masculinity is not as simple as it once seemed. The "answer to the problem of the legitimacy of the patriarchy," as Connell puts it, is no longer just a stoic and strong man (77). To the contrary, masculinities have changed with a culture that has seen open revolt to the patriarchy in the form of the feminist movement. They have evolved and changed to suit a new environment. They have allowed themselves to retain dominant elements of hegemonic masculinity but have changed enough to become more palatable through incorporation of inclusive aspects such as emotionality and an acceptance of vulnerability. The participants in this study have more encompassing masculinities than one might have expected, but they are still very much tied to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

Chapter 4: Homosociality

Introduction

In North American society, there are many examples of sex-segregated groups. The creation of such groups can at times be compulsory such as prison populations, but others are elective such as monastic orders, single-sex boarding schools, and/or college fraternities and sororities. This begs the question, why do people seek out these single gendered social arrangements? Is there a function that these groups are able to fulfill for its members that other, multi-gendered, organizations cannot? What role does power and the reproduction of privilege play in such configurations? In this chapter, I explore this question in the paradigm of college fraternities. I will seek to understand what motivates membership in these organizations and what men gain from that membership. In the end I show that the functions of homosocial organizations are far more complicated in reality than the existing scholarship would suggest.

Literature Review

The concept of "homosociality" can be traced back to the work of Jean Lipman-Blumen in the mid-1970's. Lipman-Blumen defines homosociality as "seeking, enjoyment, and/or preference for the company of the same sex" (1976, 16).[8] In addition to defining the term, Lipman-Blumen also argued that, in Euro-American society, specifically all-male groups and organizations construct and orient themselves acquire and protect power and resources.

From this starting point that E.K. Sedgwick (1985) elevated the term to a more encompassing one and fleshed out some of its gendered concepts. She specifically distinguished between "male homosociality" and "female homosociality," stating that they are asymmetrical

[8] This work was at least tangentially based in the general, amorphic, and, honestly, chauvinistic work of Lionel Tiger (1969) that was concerned with the issue of "male-bonding".

and distinct in nature. Sedgwick builds on Lipman-Blumen's idea that male homosociality is focused on the acquisition and protection of power, but also adds that in her own research there seems to be a homophobic component that polices male homosocial relationships. Conversely, she argues, that female homosociality is more non-profitable, more focused on emotional support, and is less concerned with the distinction between homosocial and homosexual relationships. She argues that different types of homosociality are impacted by the nature of the gender constructions and ideologies of those engaged in that homosociality.

Nils Hammarén and Thomas Johansson (2014) built on these theorizations, specifically Sedgwick's conception. For example, they clarify and state that ideas of male homosociality are "first and foremost fashioned through the exchange of women and the consolidation of men's power in society" (5). Conversely, they define female homosociality as being "based on emotional closeness, intimacy, and a nonprofitable form of friendship" (1). Most importantly they de-essentialize the analysis from its gendered frame and instead reframe it as "vertical/hierarchal homosociality" and "horizontal homosociality". A main reason for this de-essentialization is the realization that friendship between women is not truly as utopian as Sedgwick's female homosociality originally implied. In their new theorization, ideas about horizontal homosociality stay largely the same and they clarify that "hierarchical homosociality is similar to and has already been described as a means of strengthening power and of creating close homosocial bonds to maintain and defend hegemony" (5). This is one of the frameworks that I use in this chapter.

A notable aspect of Sedgwick's ideas about male homosociality is how men police against homosexuality. She observed in her works that men collectively reject the prospect of homosexuality and feminization through "excessive heterosexuality" (355). This phenomenon is

very similar to what the researcher C.J. Pascoe (2007) termed "compulsive heterosexuality" where men and boys in homosocial contexts would do things such as act out "rituals of 'getting girls'" in order to "continually demonstrate to themselves and others that they are indeed masculine" (23). Additionally, corroborating this connection is the work of Dana Brittion (1990) who utilized quantitative research methods to study the link between single gendered groups and homophobia. She found that people who "favor sex-segregated institutions tend to be the most homophobic" (437).

This is similar to the work of Eric Anderson, who was cited in the previous chapter on masculinities. Anderson argues that homophobia and the fear of being perceived as gay are key to both masculinity and regulating interactions between men. He terms this fear of being perceived as gay "homohysteria" and argues that it forces men to "establish and reestablish themselves as heterosexual by aligning their gendered behaviors with idealized notions of masculinity" (183). According to Anderson, men act in aggressively masculine ways such as "compulsive heterosexuality" because of not only homophobia but also homohysteria. Importantly, Anderson also asserts, in a manner that may be over stepping what his data is saying, that if homophobia and homohysteria decrease so will hegemonic masculine behavior.

Finally, the work of Adam McCready (2019), interrogates the role of homophobia in the homosociality of fraternity men specifically. While, he does not address homosociality by name, he investigates the connection of hegemonically masculine behavior, specifically binge drinking, among fraternity men and the social forces of a fraternity environment. He argues that "masculinities espoused by these organizations foster misogynistic environments and promote or reinforce homophobia, problematic alcohol consumption, and hazing" (479). Also, much in the same way that Anderson asserts that a decrease in homophobia will result in a less hegemonic

form of masculinity displayed by homosocial men, McCready observes that "some chapters may maintain gender climates that promote disconformity from traditional masculinity and their members may engage in healthier behaviors" (479). Therefore, according to existing literature, homophobia is an important aspect of understanding homosociality among men.

In addition to these general works on homosociality, there have also been relevant studies done on homosociality among fraternity men specifically. A prime example is the work of McCreary and Schutts (2015). Much as the aforementioned work of Adam McCready, this work does not refer to homosociality by name, but it investigates many of the same aspects and dynamics. Their research is concerned with the conception of the term "brotherhood" among fraternity men. Their research featured semi-structured focus groups with fraternity men on this subject. They highlight four concepts basic to understanding conventions of brotherhood: solidarity, shared social experiences, belonging, and accountability.

The first theme explored by McCreary and Schutts is solidarity which is described as a "connection based on a commitment to mutual assistance" (33). They show how that at times this was "highly altruistic" citing one informant: "'if a brother loses a parent or loved one, we would all be there to support him through the hard times'" (33). However, other times it can be an effective way of making an organization able to take "a defensive position against outward authority" (33). Their next theme, shared social experiences, illustrates how fraternity men genuinely enjoy each other's company and how spending time with one another is central to their friendships. This includes both activities like socializing informally and in rituals and in more high-risk activities like drug use and binge drinking as well as those that take place during hazing. Brotherhood is also understood through accountability. This is a system of maintaining control which they observed as "not a hierarchical accountability of power and control" as

"many of the standards are largely implicit and informally communicated through group norms and symbols within the organization" (36). Finally, they describe membership creating "a sense of belonging that transcended friendship or social interaction" (35). This is a very different way of looking at male friendship than that of Hammarén and Johansson. Although McCreary and Shutts theory fails to account for power and privilege it is able to provide the contours of homosocial interactions for these fraternity men.

Throughout the remainder of this chapter, I investigate the ways that the fraternity men I studied understand their homosociality, why they feel homosocial organizations exist, what motivated them to be part of a homosocial organization, what they gain from such an arrangement, and the relationship between their homosocial relationships and their masculinities. In doing so I strive to understand and elucidate the ideas of both Anderson and McCready. At the same time, I aim to grasp the impacts of privilege and power as presented by Hammarén and Johansson while providing information on the contours of these relationships as delineated by McCreary and Schutts. Using this information, I hope to ground new theorization that unifies all of their differing theoretical perspectives into a more full and complex theory of masculine homosociality.

Original Research

Motivations for Homosociality

The 15 fully semi-structured interviews as well as the semi-structured parts of another 30 interviews I conducted uncovered the participant's motivations for joining a fraternity and the reasons why their fraternities are single gendered and should remain that way. The data regarding the former can be broken down into three different themes: (1) a desire for the benefits

that come with membership in such an organization, (2) a desire to make friends and expand social networks, and (3) a desire for an emotionally supportive group of men to act as a "second family". These themes tend to defy the categorizations that Hammarén and Johansson put forth. For example, the second of the mentioned themes, includes the horizontal elements of mutual support, but at the same time also includes hierarchical elements of gaining influence and power. This is similar to the more ambivalent theorization of shared social experiences of McCreary and Shutts. It was very common for participants' responses to fail to fall into the defined categories outlined by existing homosociality theory.

A large number of participants spoke frankly about being motivated to join a fraternity by the prospect of gaining access to benefits that are stereotypically associated with such organizations. These benefits ranged from a desire to party and meet women to advantages in making professional connections and assistance with their academic studies. One example of this came from a seventh-semester communications major, and the first participant interviewed for this study, who articulated his motivations as follows: "I thought it would be nice to, you know, meet new people, you know, go to parties and, you know, to meet girls. I thought it would be like a really cool college experience". This more stereotypical view of fraternities, their function, and their use are alive and well in this Greek community. The focus on partying and meeting women brings up some problematic aspects that fall fairly well into a hierarchical homosociality. As I will explore in the next chapter, this sort of partying is a privilege that grants fraternity men access to women through generally coercive and predatory means.

Additional benefits that attracted men to fraternities included possible advantages in their academic and future professional successes. For example, about a quarter of participants noted how the collective GPA of their fraternities had attracted them. It was not uncommon for

participants to claim that their fraternity "had the highest GPA on campus". A fifth-semester physiology and neurobiology major on a pre-med track expounded about the mechanics of this process:

> "Having the ability to reach out to all of these brothers who either have the same major as I had, took the same classes that I had, were doing like a pre-med path, I was able to sit down and talk to these guys and learn from them, learn from their mistakes and their successes, so that was like a really, really great resource."

Being in a fraternity is lived as an opportunity to advance one's knowledge and academic trajectory through the connections that members make.

One seventh-semester marketing major emphasized the importance of future professional benefits:

> "When you're joining a fraternity, I don't know how much you're thinking about it, but when you're in, I think you realize the professional connections a lot. So people have internships, their parents have jobs, their uncles have jobs, people are in your major. I think that one of the biggest things that you realize once you get in is that it can help you a lot with jobs and stuff."

These benefits, both academic and professional, are not necessarily hegemonic or hierarchical on their own. However, due to the single gendered nature of the organization, and therefore the exclusion of people who are not men from these opportunities and advantages, these arrangements become hierarchical. It would seem from this data that the goal of this organization, at least in part, is to bestow privilege and opportunity upon men alone and thus expanding and protecting their power into the future.

It is worth noting, however, that a desire for privileges and opportunities such as those outlined above are not the only draws to fraternities of which participants spoke. The next notable theme on this topic was that of finding friends. Considering that the context of this study was a large university, it was very common for participants to describe their attraction to fraternities as a way to anchor themselves socially. A seventh-semester marketing major told me

simply, “I think that meeting people, kind of having friends, is easier if you join a fraternity”. In a conversation with a different participant, a fifth-semester actuarial sciences major, about the reasons for joining a fraternity over a different student group, such as a club, he said, “I feel like your primary goal [in a club] isn’t to become close with those guys, it’s to do whatever the club kind of [does]. In a fraternity they really emphasize the brotherhood”. He suggested that a fraternity is a desirable organization to join as it focuses on social interaction instead of some other goal where social interaction is but a consequence of the group’s function. For example, while clubs and other extracurricular groups are often seen as a primary mode of socializing in a university context, this social role is often subordinated to some other interest, such as philanthropy or personal development. However, fraternities and other Greek social organizations are different in that they center socializing with other goals on the periphery.

Therefore, this theme does not fall cleanly into a hierarchical homosociality as it lacks an explicit desire or mechanism for protecting or transmitting privilege. The desire is not just to make friends in order to promote one’s own interests, as that would be a hierarchical homosociality, as we saw in the previous section. But at the same time, this homosociality lacks explicit non-profitable aspects that would make it horizontal, such as a desire for emotional support as will be shown in the next section. Instead, this group of participants was looking for social connections for a sense of orientation after being thrown into such a large and new social setting. As mentioned at the beginning of this analysis, this aspect of homosociality specifically occupies an awkward position in Hammarén and Johansson’s theorization but fits fairly snuggly into McCreary and Schutts’ theme of “shared social experiences”.

Finally, about a third of the participants mentioned looking for genuine emotional support much like the “emotional” rather than “instrumental” friendship as described by Eric Wolf

(2001). Wolf argues that this type of friendship exists to fulfill an emotional deficit for the parties involved. For these fraternity members, often young men who are away from their families for the first time, this deficit is created from a dislocation from family. For this reason, I follow the lead of Alexandra Robbins who in her recent work, *Fraternity*, refers to this desire for emotional friendship a search for a "second family" (2019, 248). This is distinct from the aforementioned theme of "looking for friends" because it emphasizes a non-profitable nature in a way that the former does not.

This is exemplified by a seventh semester political science and economics double major who talked about how he joined his fraternity because he was looking for more than just the "proximity friends" he made freshman year outside of the fraternity. Here, the term "proximity friends" means a group in which the primary social glue is convenience. Therefore, a "second family" is more than just associating with other people, instead it is developing a close, supportive bond. Another participant, a ninth-semester economics major and member of a cultural fraternity, went farther and explained: "I need something where I can feel like family, where I can call someone my brother, and I can rely on them with anything, you know what I mean? And so that's why I looked into joining the fraternity, the reason is to find family". They also said that they considered another fraternity, but they were more a "basic fraternity" focused on "parties and stuff" and less "tight knit" than what he wanted. This suggests that there are some men who join fraternities in search of these types of bonds that value emotional support above the stereotypical dividends that I have described previously. Thus, it is clear that truly horizontal homosocial bonds are a part the experience of some fraternity men.

Justifications for Homosociality

Another focus of these interviews was the homosocial nature of fraternities themselves. Participants were asked why fraternities are single gendered and how their organizations would change were it to no longer be homosocial. In doing this, I hoped to discern the function of a single gendered environment for these men.

When originally asked why their organizations are single gendered, on the whole, participants were unsure. However, an overwhelming majority of participants speculated that this gender exclusivity was, as a third semester actuarial sciences major, put it, "an accident of history". He went on to say, "It just started like that and it's how it continued". It was also very common for participants to cite the approximate year of founding in order to justify their structure. One participant said, "You know, when… fraternities first came up, it was like the early 1900's," and another postulated, "Honestly, well I know it was founded in 1839, I think that's how it was since 1839". Some participants went farther and spelled out how things were different when fraternities were founded. For example, one participant guessed, "When the fraternity was founded… I think… back then the culture was different, you know, two hundred years ago or so," and another speculated, "When they were first started, yeah… women honestly didn't have the same rights as men". Despite this, as will be seen in the subsequent part of this analysis, these men still value homosociality very highly. The way that the participants in this study defensively positioned themselves on the subject of the legitimacy of a homosocial, and mostly white, institution, suggests that they understand it as a problematic relationship. This is especially so on American college campuses which are often hotbeds of social justice activism and where "diversity" and "inclusion" are buzzwords. While otherwise privileged, in this context the system of cultural capital has symbolically disadvantaged these arrangements due to

both perceived and accurate issues of hegemony in their structure. Because of this, participants justified the structure of their homosocial relationships in a time disconnected from their own.

Functions of Homosociality

In much the same way that there were varying motivations for joining a fraternity, my data revealed two main reasons for men to be attracted to a homosocial environment: (1) men are more comfortable being themselves when they are with only other men and (2) men are able to more freely have fun when they are only with other men. These reasons are closely related and, in many ways, feel like two sides of the same coin. They also generally fit into horizontal and hierarchical homosociality, respectively. These themes provide keen examples of how masculinity plays into the function of homosocial relationships.

Many of the participants spoke of "feeling more comfortable around men" because they are more able to be themselves without the burden of having to impress potential romantic or sexual partners. This assumption is blatantly heteronormative which was a common theme in my larger study that echoes the homophobic elements of the theories and studies cited above. This is an issue that will be addressed more fully later in the chapter. Nonetheless, a fifth-semester physiology and neurobiology major said that in a single-gendered environment men are "just themselves not trying so hard to like impress [women]". He went on to give the reason that "you don't want to look bad in front of a girl". This suggests that these men are insecure about themselves. Furthermore, the orientation of their insecurities toward women suggests that it may be insecurity more about their masculinities and the pressures that masculinity puts on men to be sexually dominant and successful.

This idea was further elucidated by a fifth-semester computer science engineering major who related his time in his fraternity to time he spent as a part of one of America's oldest and most respected homosocial organizations: the Boy Scouts of America.[9] He detailed his experience saying, "I feel it was just a bunch of nerdy kids and you could like go on a campout with the troop and… you don't have to impress anybody and you're more free to just be yourself and like I think that would apply to fraternities". Here, it seems that there is a perception of an egalitarian ethos in this generally homogenous group. Additionally, especially considering the general terms with which this participant noted that they didn't have to impress "anybody", that it goes far beyond a purely masculine anxiety. This dialogues well with Robbin's work (2019) where she notes how for many of the men she interviewed "fraternities [were] the safe space on campus" with one participant saying that "in his chapter, 'no one will judge you for having a "nerdy" hobby or being part of a niche community'" (248). Thus, while anxieties about masculinity seem to be a piece of the comfort in a fraternity, it does seem that it goes farther as well.

At least for some participants, the homosocial environment is a supportive one where men can freely and openly express themselves in a way they do not feel they can elsewhere due to both masculine and various other pressures. This common emotional support is non-profitable, and because of this, this relationship falls into the category of horizontal homosociality.

The other main reason that participants gave for being more comfortable in the company of men was that they felt like they do not have to censor themselves in their conduct and forms of humor. This is distinct from the theme stated above because this specifically has to do with

[9] Though the Boy Scouts of America between 2017 and 2018 opened parts of its programs to non-male participants, the experiences referenced took place well before this change.

crudeness and the offensive nature of humor. This can be seen in this quote from a seventh semester allied health major speaking about his roommate and fellow fraternity brother:

> "Like he says he can't have girlfriends because like all the jokes he makes are like horrible jokes but they're funny because he's a great person but girls like wouldn't understand that kind of thing, alright? So it's like you can't like have a fraternity that has boys and girls and have those kind of like jokes and stuff like that."

While he did not expound on the type of humor his friend enjoys, it can be inferred that it is, or at least can be perceived to be, somehow offensive to women. Thus, this humor is possibly sexist, homophobic, or otherwise offensive. The nature of this humor came into better focus through the words of another participant. This participant, a seventh-semester marketing major, described how having women in a fraternity would make relationships "tricky," saying "I just think that a lot of the things that are said, like even though they are not meant to be offensive towards girls, you would just have to be more careful". Considering the nature of their humor, I feel this could be a mechanism similar to the excessive/compulsive heterosexuality mentioned above by Sedgwick and by Pascoe. Through this type of speech these men are able to reject femininity and, thus, prove their masculine credentials. This type of behavior points towards a hierarchical homosociality.

Homosociality and Homophobia

On the topic of compulsive heterosexuality, views of homosexuality and gay men were more nuanced than other authors have argued. As discussed in the last chapter, views of homosexuality ranged from generally indifferent to positive. However, it is apparent that this is not the norm within fraternities. As one participant, a seventh semester economics major, outlined how within fraternities being straight is something that is assumed of all members. Thus, heterosexuality is very much the baseline for fraternity members. This hints at some of the

ambiguities that arose when homosexuality was discussed in the homosocial context of a fraternity.

Views of homosexuality changed slightly when participants were asked about the prospect of having gay men or men who have sex with other men in their fraternity. While again there were some participants who viewed this prospect very positively, there were other members who echoed a more lukewarm attitude. A fifth semester computer science engineering major rejected this notion in stark terms saying, "We're guys and we don't do that". However, this type of disapproval was far rarer than expected. Additionally, some participants voiced concerns about the prospect of members becoming romantically or physically involved possibly ending and complicating relationships within the fraternity. A seventh semester economics and political science double major went so far as to say that it was one of the reasons "why the organization is like single gendered". Thus, it was this fear, not a homohystrical one that most of these men articulated. While it is not clear if this fear of complications is most common among the fraternity population at large, it was in this sample. It is salient that homosocial reservations toward homosexual relationships within their fraternities were, at least outwardly, more pragmatic than homophobic.

Role of Secret Knowledge

Another topic about which my interviews were concerned was that of the secret knowledge for which American college fraternities are so notorious. While I did not ask participants to tell me about their organization's furtive ceremonies and rituals, I did ask them why this sort of secret knowledge exists. Many participants responded that it added a fun or meaningful element to their experience. However, there were two types of responses that are

very theoretically relevant. The first of these were (1) to bring members closer together and (2) to add to the prestige of the group. Unlike many of the themes discussed so far, these themes fall very well into Hammarén and Johansson's theorization with the former being horizontal and the latter being vertical.

Many participants spoke about how these ceremonies brought them together. One participant, a third semester nursing student, said that what's most important about this knowledge is that "you know that your other brothers know it and nobody else knows it" and that that is "just a special bond". Another participant, a sixth semester communications major, expounded on how this secret knowledge was the basis for relationships. He told me:

> "knowing that everyone knows the [secret knowledge]… makes you feel more comfortable saying things that you might not say in front of other people and… just in general having a sort of secrecy behind it makes people more inclined to really share their inner thoughts and feelings.

The convention of secrecy within the fraternity seems to build a baseline of trust among members. This shared foundation creates space for men to be able to express emotions and feelings with other members that they would not otherwise have.

In stark contrast to this, other participants spoke of how secret knowledge was meant to set fraternities and their member's apart due to the exclusivity that it creates. A third semester actuarial sciences major, told me that secret knowledge "makes kind of an in-crowd" and that is "exciting". Another participant, a fifth semester marketing and economics major, described at length how secret knowledge intrigues people and makes them curious about fraternities, their "secret rituals and hidden handshakes and things like that," and also allows for fraternity members to respond to inquiries about these aspects with a smug, "'I can't tell you'". Thus, secret knowledge for some fraternity men acts as a way to create exclusivity and bestows its privileges on a select few.

The issue of secret knowledge shows how the same institution or event can have very different functions and uses for different people. Here we see how the same type of behavior can epitomize the non-profitable, emotional support of horizontal homosociality and the mechanisms of passing on privilege of vertical homosociality. This very much illustrates that the homosociality exhibited by fraternity men is complicated and far from homogeneous across the population.

Conclusion

In Donald Tuzin's (1997) work, *The Cassowary's Revenge*, he recounts field work he did with the Ilahita Arapesh of New Guinea that documents the collapse of an all-male cult called the Tambaran and the subsequent crisis of masculinity that ensued. At one point the Tambaran was a system of almost complete male control over village life, but after its collapse the men of the village were left without an understanding of what being a man meant. Most of this work is an incredibly in-depth ethnography that examines masculinity, homosociality, and power that also provides an excellent example of vertical homosociality. However, Tuzin crudely finishes this work arguing that men need a sort of homosocial "sanctuary" where they can be men. He cites Lionel Tiger (1970) agreeing that, "By their very nature, then… 'men "need" some haunts and/or occasions which exclude females'" (188). This is in order to avert the violent consequences associated with crises of masculinity.

While aspects of Tuzin's conclusion are more than questionable, this idea of sanctuary resonates to some degree with my data. It is interesting to consider how men view the homosocial as a place of escape from the pressures of the world, both specifically masculine and those that are more general, and where they can express their emotions freely. I believe that this

is the case because by clothing themselves in an outwardly masculine and heteronormative group these men are shielded from scrutiny about the more feminine aspects of their interactions. It seems clear to me that most people need at least some level of emotional support and this is a way for men to do it without having their masculinities questioned. These men are using their intuitive knowledge of masculinity and the cultural expectations associated with it to create unquestioned space for emotional support; they employ what they have learned from their own habitus to fulfill needs that are, at times, considered taboo. Thus, I suggest a new theoretical form of homosociality: *guarded homosociality*. This is a homosociality that at its core enables emotional and supportive elements under the guise of outwardly masculine symbols and behavior

We also must reckon with the various ways that power and privilege are bestowed upon members and transmitted through this organization that categorically denies women access. Through organizations such as the fraternity, men are able to take advantage of opportunities that women cannot. I believe that this contributes to, perpetuates, and exacerbates the patriarchal disparities that exist between men and women economically, socially, and politically. However, it is clear that this is not the only function of these organizations as evidenced by all of the pieces of data that do not fit cleanly into either vertical or horizontal homosocialities such as the theme of friendship. Therefore, I would also suggest a diagonal form of homosociality. This is one that merges elements of both vertical and horizontal homosociality and leaves room for the complexities that arise in real world social situations.

Therefore, I would term this homosociality guarded, diagonal homosociality. Within fraternities, men exercise outwardly masculine behaviors in order to leave space for emotional intimacy. This is not to say that masculine behavior is totally a ruse, no, indeed there are

elements of hegemonic masculinity that perpetuate male power. Yet, there is also far more to these relationships. Indeed, the homosociality of fraternity men is far more complicated than a single line upwards or downwards.

Chapter 5: Violence

Introduction

Social fraternities have a reputation as sites of alcohol-soaked parties and sexual assault on US college campuses. In this chapter I investigate the role of masculinity and fraternity membership in instances of men's violence, specifically sexual assault. This investigation, I hope, could potentially help improve as well as sharpen the efficacy of sexual assault prevention programs on college campuses.

Literature Review

In this literature review, I outline the scholarship on three main topics: the nature of sexual violence, sexual violence on university and college campuses as well as in fraternity settings, and the relationship between masculinity and sexual violence.[10] I want to first clarify some terminology. Taking a cue from the activist-academic, Jackson Katz (2013), instead of referring to sexual violence as "violence against women," or VAW, I use the term "men's violence". In doing so, the focus is re-centered on the perpetrator who is often lost in the use of VAW and helps us engage with the fact that women are not the only victims of male sexual violence.

In 1975, the journalist and feminist, Susan Brownmiller published her groundbreaking work *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*. While this work is wide ranging, her main thesis is that rape "is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men* keep *all women* in a state of fear" (5, original emphasis). She argues, "that some men rape

[10] As a note, it is important to keep in mind that most of this information and theorization are mainly concerned with hegemonic masculinities and implicitly lack an intersectional lens. For more information about more intersectional looks at sexual violence Armstrong, Gleckman-Kurt, and Johnson's (2018) review article is highly recommended.

provides a sufficient threat to keep all women in a constant state of intimidation" and that "men who commit rape have served in effect as front-line masculine shock troops, terrorist guerrillas in the longest sustained battle the world has ever seen" (229). Twelve years later in 1987, the radical feminist legal scholar, Catharine MacKinnon, argued that by its own nature, heterosexual sex itself constitutes a form of gender inequity. Additionally, she argued that even consensual, heterosexual sex under patriarchy is coercive. Nicola Gavey (2005) tempered MacKinnon's argument and showed that gender socialization, which includes feminine coyness and masculine aggression, makes the line between consensual heterosexual sexual contact and rape a fine one. Considering this fine line, it seems that violence is seen as a "natural" characteristic of hegemonic gender arrangements.

As well as understanding this theory about the nature of sexual violence, it is important to understand the current situation in situ. As this project is chiefly concerned with college men, I focus on prevalence and issues of sexual violence on college campuses. The issue of accurate reporting on the rate of sexual assaults that take place on college campuses has been elusive to those researching the topic long before the seminal work of Mary Koss, Christine Gidycz, and Nadine Wisniewski (1987). However, estimates have been made and studies have been done to give the best view of the situation as possible. Such information was outlined by Eliza Gray (2014) whose work highlights the dire situation of sexual violence on college campuses. She cites data that "shows that 1 in 5 women is the victim of an attempted or completed sexual assault during college". She also shows how party culture affects such statistics stating that "nearly three-quarters of those victims were incapacitated, underscoring the role of alcohol in campus assaults". In a sweeping survey conducted by the American Association of Universities (Cantor et al 2020) that included 181,752 students on 33 college campuses, the prevalence of

sexual violence was actually higher at 25.9% for undergraduate women. Another interesting finding from this survey was that, compared to the results of a similar survey from 2015, there was an increase of 3% in the prevalence of sexual assault. The study also noted that there was also an increase in knowledge on issues related to sexual violence such as consent. David Strader and Jodi Williams-Cunningham (2017) have shown how not only are college campuses "particularly dangerous places for young women," but school administrations are continually impotent in supporting survivors (198).

There are two very important works to keep in mind when evaluating the impact of fraternities on sexual assault on college campuses. The first of these is by Patricia Martin and Robert Hummer (1989). They outline how fraternity men are preoccupied with issues of "loyalty, group protection, and secrecy" and that these three ideals can take "precedence over what is procedurally, ethically, or legally correct" (643-4). This is notably similar to themes discerned by McCreary and Shutts about the term brotherhood as discussed earlier in the homosociality chapter of this work. Martin and Hummer describe the use of alcohol to incapacitate women as a prelude to sexual activity which they term "alcohol as weapon" (464). The second work by Elizabeth Armstrong, Laura Hamilton, and Brian Sweeney (2006) similarly outlines how the high-risk situation of a house party or fraternity party is dangerous to women. They describe how "fraternities control every aspect of parties at their houses" including the flow of alcohol (489). This type of home field advantage creates a power imbalance between male hosts and female guests that is predatory. They finally outline how the prospect of sexual activity with intoxicated women is a common draw for men to attend fraternity parties. Thus, the structure of a fraternity party contributes to the reasons that they are dangerous places for women.

Now we turn to existing literature on the relationship between masculinity and men's violence. An apt place to start is with Michael Kaufmann's (1987) "Triad of Men's Violence". He asserts that most men have "an internal dialogue of doubt about one's male and masculine credentials" (5). To silence this doubt men become violent against women, other men, and themselves. This is the basis for his triad. Audrey Omar (2011) supports this analysis by illustrating how men who conform to masculine norms such as "risk taking" and "pursuit of status" showed greater acceptance of violent behavior (22). Additionally, a study authored by Danielle Berke et al (2016) illustrated how both men who see themselves as very masculine and, notably, men who see themselves as not very masculine are the most likely to be outwardly violent. Both studies reified Kaufmann's original assertion about silencing masculine doubt with violence.

In addition to this connection with violence generally, masculinities are connected to sexual violence specifically. For example, CJ Pascoe (2007) argues that some men and boys construct their masculinities around a "rape paradigm" in which "masculinity is predicated on overcoming women's bodily desire and control" (100). Conversely, another way of constructing masculinity around rape is what CJ Pascoe and Jocelyn Hollander (2015) term "mobilizing rape". It is in this context when men disapprove of rapists, not out of a feminist impulse, but because they see a real man as "desirable enough that he has no need to use force to obtain access to girls' bodies" and that a man who must resort to such violence is a "failed man" (72). Thus, masculinity is tied up in not only violence in general but also in sexual violence specifically.

In the rest of this chapter I investigate participant's understandings of sexual violence as well as their partying behavior and its relation to their masculinities in the hope of not only filling gaps in the existing literature, but also for updating it to the present day.

Original Research

Understandings of Consent and the Party Context

As a way to understand how fraternity men conceptualize inappropriate and appropriate sexual interactions, 30 participants were asked to "define consent as fully as possible". These definitions ranged from very short to rather long. In order to understand how well participants understood consent, I took the definition of consent that the Title XI Office at their university provides and dissected it into its components as follows:

> Consent is an understandable exchange of (**1**) affirmative words or (**2**) actions, which indicate a willingness to participate in (**3**) mutually agreed upon sexual activity. Consent must be (**4**) informed, (**5**) freely and (**6**) actively given. (**7**) It is the responsibility of the initiator to obtain clear and affirmative responses at each stage of sexual involvement. (**8**) Consent to one form of sexual activity does not imply consent to other forms of sexual activity. (**9**) The lack of a negative response is not consent. (**10**) An individual who is incapacitated by alcohol and/or other drugs both voluntarily or involuntarily consumed may not give consent. (**11**) Past consent of sexual activity does not imply ongoing future consent. Consent cannot be given if any of the following are present: (**12**) force, (**13**) coercion, or (**10**) incapacitation.[11]

Participants' definitions were coded using these components. The percent frequencies with which each component was included in participants' definitions can be seen in **Figure 5.1** below.

[11] You may notice that number (**10**) is listed twice. This is due to the fact that for all intents and purposes both instances are in reference to the same criterion.

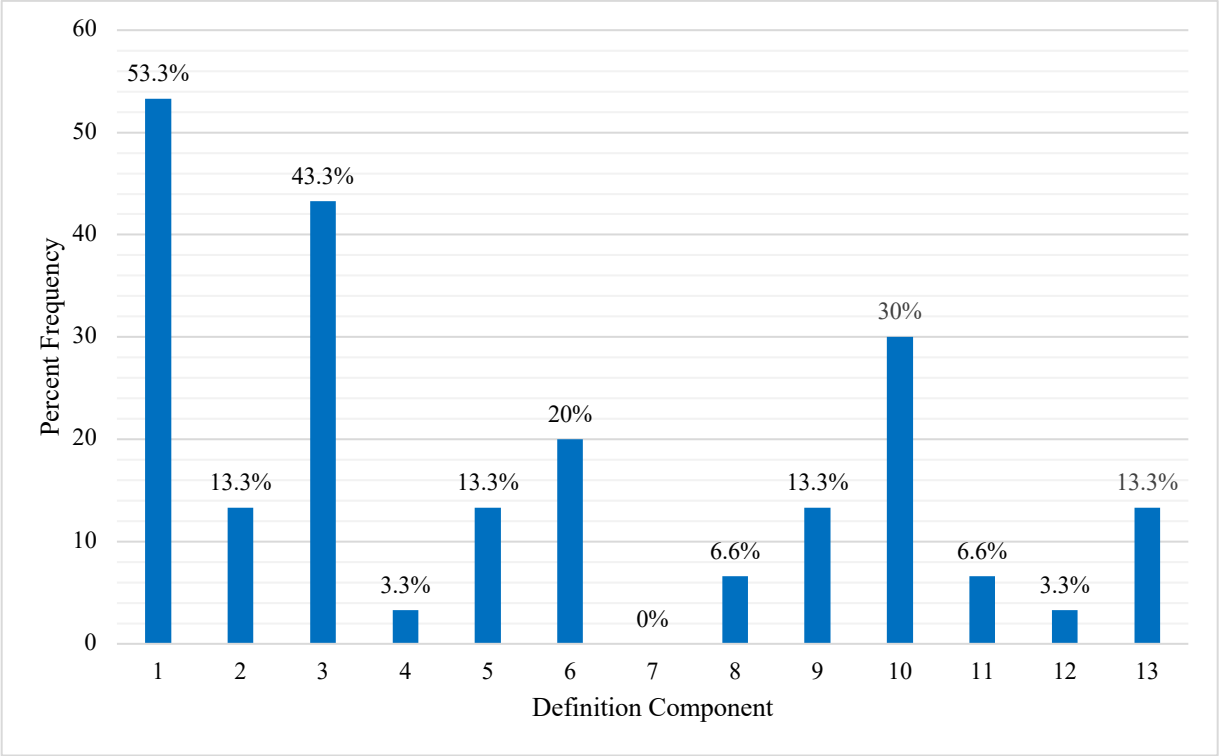

Figure 5.1

This figure very aptly illustrates the three components that were most common in definitions elicited: (**1**) affirmative words, (**3**) mutual agreement, and (**10**) a lack of incapacitation. These components form the core of participants' definition of consent. Conversely it is notable that (**7**), the responsibility of the initiator to obtain consent, was absent from every single definition collected. The lack of inclusion of this element is rather troubling considering the initiator is often thought of as the penetrative partner who, in a heterosexual sexual encounter, is most often the male. Thus, while participants have a general understanding of the core elements of consent, they do not see it as their responsibility to secure it.

Another method that was employed to discern what interviewees saw as inappropriate and appropriate sexual behavior was rating agreement with statements about consent on a five-point Likert Scale that ranged from "Strongly Disagree" to "Disagree" to "Unsure" to "Agree" to "Strongly Agree". The first of these statements was: "Consent can be given by not saying no."

This was included to gain more insight into ideas of component (**9**), "the lack of a negative response is not consent". Participant responses to this statement can be seen in **Figure 5.2** below. More than three-quarters of participants rightly responded that this does not constitute consent. This is far more than the only 13.3% that included it in their definition of consent. This suggests that this idea is more widely accepted than **Figure 5.1** would lead us to believe. That being said, a troubling 16.6% of participants agreed that this did constitute consent. Therefore, while there is a widespread acceptance of affirmative consent, there is a minority of fraternity men who need to be further educated on the topic.

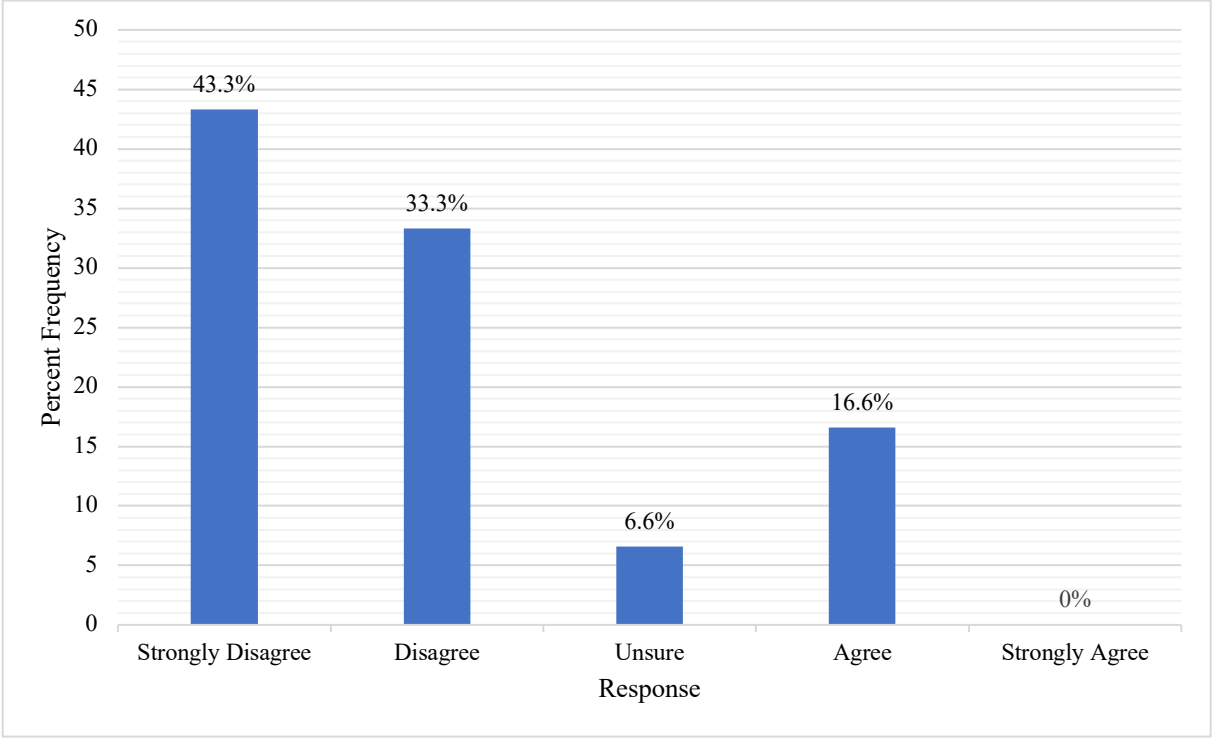

Figure 5.2

The next of these statements was: "Consent can be given by actively being involved in an encounter." This was included to gain more insight into component (**2**), affirmative actions. Participant responses to this statement can be seen in **Figure 5.3** below. The data on this topic is very fascinating as it centers evenly around the unsureness of fraternity men around the issue of

affirmative actions. Though affirmative actions do constitute consent according to the university's definition, men in my study were on the whole unsure if this is in fact the case. Most of the participants expressed that this seemed like it would constitute consent but where unwilling to declare it did, considering consent's fraught nature. This is reasonable as what constitutes "affirmative actions" is far more subjective than what constitutes, say, "affirmative words". This was typified by a vocal minority of participants who argued that in order to have the consent of a partner, they were required to hear a verbal "yes". For example, one participant, a fifth semester finance major, said, "I believe that it has to be the word 'yes'". And another, a sixth semester communication major, went into more detail saying, "I want like a confirmation like not just like a nod of the head or something, I want like a yes or no answer." All of this suggests that, at least in this area consent is seen as black and white and the concept of affirmative actions lies in a gray area.

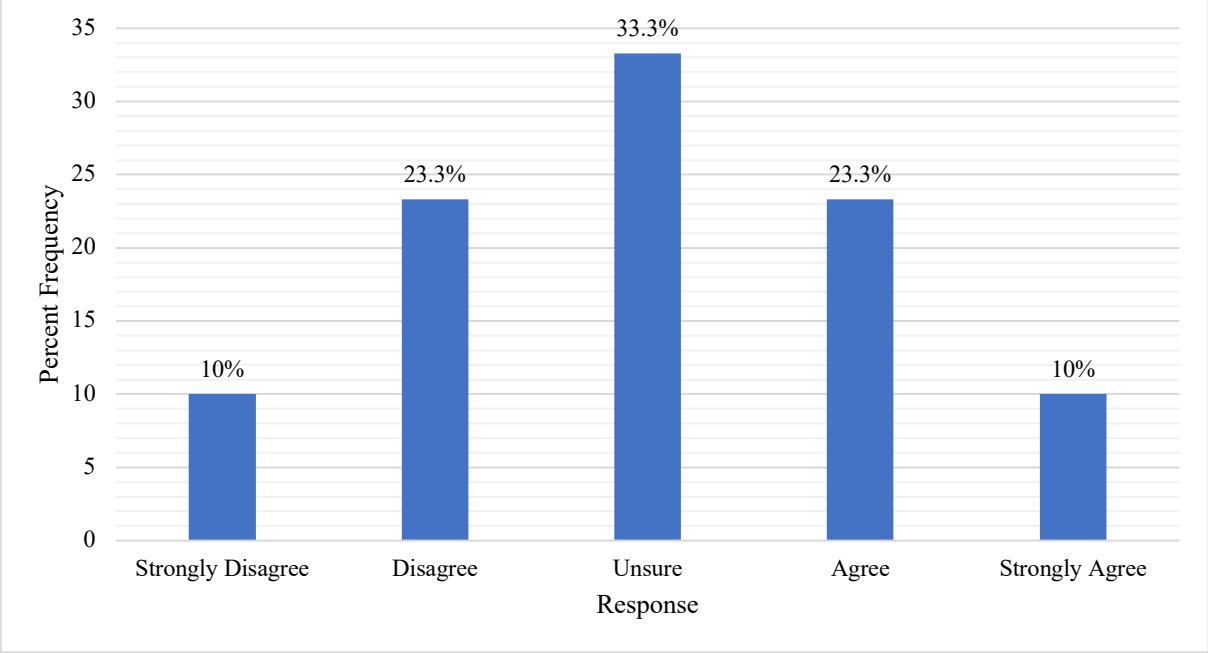

Figure 5.3

The last of these statements was: "A drunk or high person can give consent." This was in order to gain more insight into component (**10**), incapacitation. Participant responses to this

statement can be seen in **Figure 5.4** below. A majority of participants rightly answered that this did not constitute consent. However, a minority either dissented from that assessment or were unsure. Conversely to the discussion of the data presented in **Figure 5.3**, here many of these men stressed a gray area when it came to intoxication and impairment. For example, a seventh semester marketing major talked about different levels of intoxication. He stressed that there is a level of intoxication where someone is obviously inebriated and they seemingly give consent, "you shouldn't take that as a yes". However, he also mentioned the possibility of someone being "responsibly drunk," saying that if "you ask multiple times and you're both on the same page, you're both on the same level, I think that's fine". While this was the only participant who expounded in such a way in their definition of consent, this idea of acceptable sexual contact while drinking was seen as very normal in the retrospective accounts taken about fraternity parties.

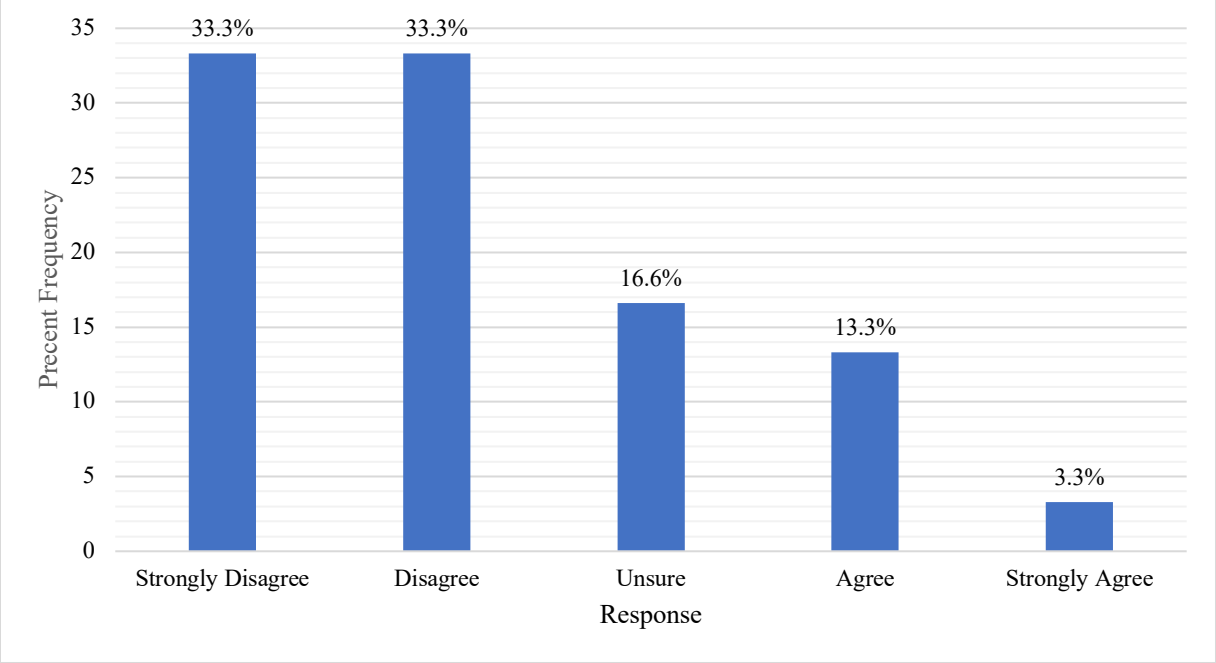

Figure 5.4

In retrospective accounts, few of these participants went to parties for the prospect of engaging in sexual contact. Nonetheless, a vast majority of these participants talked about how it is expected that people will "hook up" at parties. For example, when asked about this subject a second semester biology major said, "You do see that as the night goes on… it kind of like seems normal so you let them do their thing and you do your own thing." Another participant, a second semester actuarial sciences major, said that you "always just have [hooking up] randomly". With yet another, a seventh semester allied health major, saying that this type of behavior was "pretty typical with the alcohol and all that". Finally, there was a participant, a seventh semester political science major, who did not mention that he saw any type of hooking up going on but said, "It's college so I assume there definitely was." Thus, there is a very widespread acceptance that the mixing of alcohol and sexual activity is normal at these parties despite the wide latitude of grayness it opens up in terms of consent.

In order to investigate the relationship between partying and sexual contact further, a free list was conducted with the prompt: "What things happen at a party?" The results of this free list can be seen in **Figure 5.5** below.

Listed Terms	Original Frequency	Edited Frequency	Compounded Terms
Dancing	12	12	
Talking	8	8	
Hooking up	7	7	
Drinking	3	6	drinking games (x3)
Decreased inhibitions	2	4	social interactions, making excuses for behavior
Risk management	2	4	keeping things under control, being careful
Drug use	3	3	
Having fun	3	3	
Making out	3	3	
Sex	3	3	
Socializing	3	3	
Yelling	2	3	loud singing
Fighting	2	2	
Leaving with other peopl	2	2	
Listening to music	2	2	
Making mistakes	1	2	occasional injury
Throwing up	1	2	getting sick
Crying	1	1	
Dirty dancing	1	1	
Getting rowdy	1	1	
Getting too drunk	1	1	
Increased sexual appetite	1	1	
Kissing	1	1	
Making new friends	1	1	
Passing out	1	1	
Respecting others	1	1	
Sexual assault	1	1	
Smoking	1	1	
Sober driving	1	1	
Staying sober	1	1	
Taking care of others	1	1	

Figure 5.5

There was a variety of responses to this free list, but a little under one fifth of them were concerned with some sort of sexual interaction. This data further suggests that there is a connection between partying and expectations of sexual contact. However, in order to gather more data on this subject, a pile sort was conducted with the above list of terms. The results of this pile sort can be found in the multi-dimensional scale below, **Figure 5.6**[12].

[12] The list of abbreviations and their meanings can be found in Appendix 5.

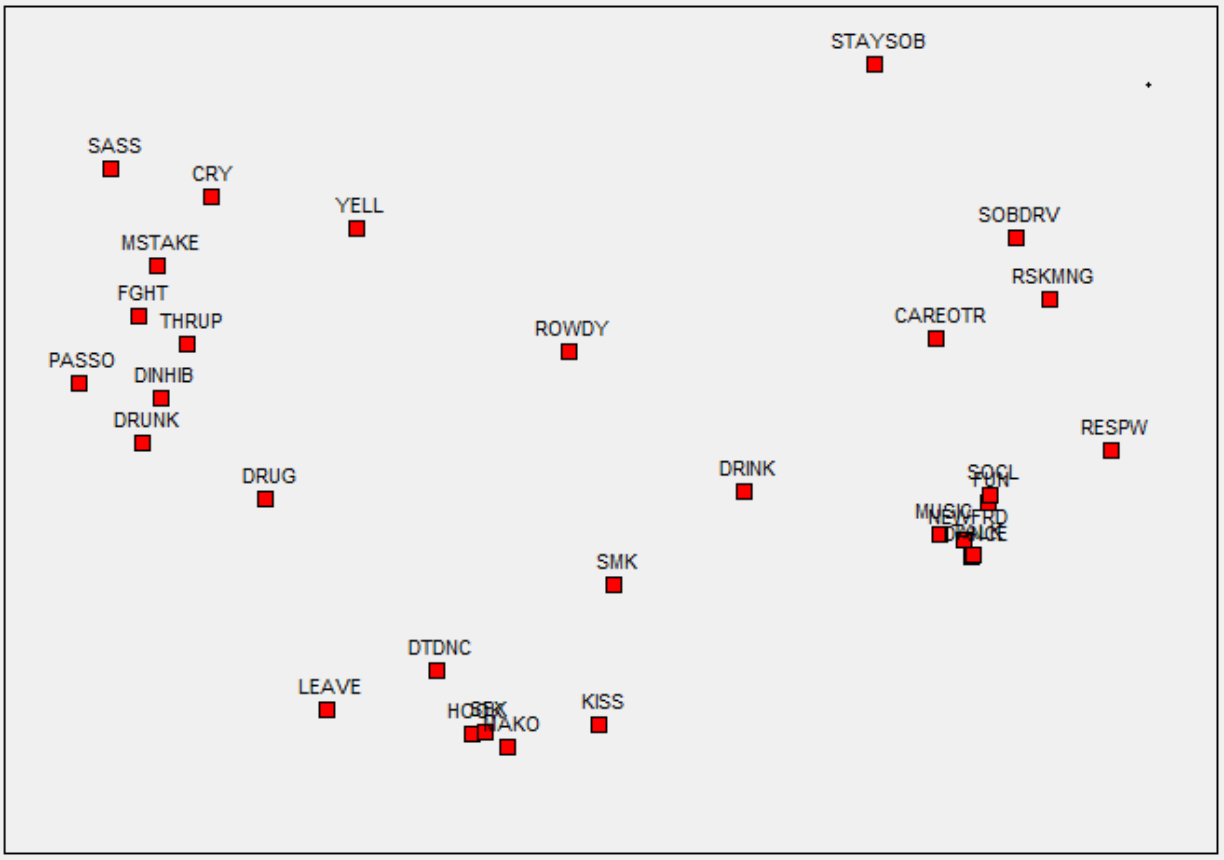

Figure 5.6

In this scale there are three fairly distinct groups. The first of these groups is the tightly packed group to the right. In this group we find closely associated aspects of partying such as "listening to music," "dancing," and "having fun". These were labeled by many participants as good or normal parts of a party. Next, is the less tightly associated group to the left. In this group we find things like "passing out," "fighting," and "sexual assault". These were labeled by participants as bad or undesirable things to happen at a party. Finally, the third group can be found closest to the bottom. This group includes all of the terms that had to do with sex or sexual activity. These terms were often sorted with words from the first two groups in some combination or were grouped as sexual activity on its own or as something more neutral.

Most importantly the data suggests that while the association of partying and sexual activity does exist it is less pronounced than some of the semi-structured interviews suggested.

But, at the same time, this type of activity is not grouped with undesirable or off-limits activities at parties. These types of sexual activities fall into an area between acceptable and unacceptable, desirable and undesirable. Considering the dangers of the combination of drinking and sexual activity, this continues to articulate how fraternity men understand partying and the prospect of sexual activity together.

Controlling the Party: Guests and "Risk Management"

There were two other aspects of issues of sexual assault and sexual assault prevention that came up in retrospective accounts: the types of people who were invited to parties and the role of "risk management" at these parties. These two issues get to the root of the structure of fraternity parties that, as evidenced by numerous other scholars in my literature review, are often set up in intentionally predatory ways. However, my research complicates some of these conceptions especially when seeking to learn how fraternity men themselves understand these arrangements.

According to participants, the typical people that are present at a fraternity party are fraternity men, sorority women, and nonaffiliated women. This is seen by some scholars, specifically Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney (2006) as a function of the fraternity of bringing in women to be victimized by their members. These scholars argue that this tight control over guestlists is a way for fraternity men to control their guests and the environment of the party which therefore gives them control in a predatory environment. However, participants in this study understood the control of guestlists in a very different way. They saw this control as a way of keeping the party safe. A fifth semester biophysics and molecular and cell biology major explained that having non-fraternity men at parties was "scary because like you don't know what

they're going to do". Another participant, a second semester biology major, spoke of the prospect of "a guy who's not associated with the fraternity" coming to a party saying he might act "like a complete dumb ass" and that there is a possibility that "he breaks a bunch of stuff, he slaps a girl in the face or something". While this concern is notable, it is also important to note that this participant articulated this not as a concern for the safety of guests, but for the reputation of the organization. Fraternity men seem to feel more equipped to control one another at these parties and thus, keep the guest list insular. This harkens back to McCreary and Shutts' ideas of power structures inside fraternities. Thus, while the dynamics described by earlier scholarship may still be at play, fraternity men understand their guest policies in a very different way than would be expected.

However, there was one participant who revealed a connection between the hierarchical transmission of privilege within a fraternity and partying, which was outlined in the previous chapter on homosociality. He explained that the reason he saw for keeping non-fraternity men out of parties was that "you kind of pay to get into the fraternity [and] you pay for the fraternity… [so] you don't want other people using your stuff cause you're paying for it, you know what I mean?". While, to be clear, when this participant was referring to "your stuff" he was referring to material goods such as alcohol and venue, implicit in the dynamic where women are welcome to use these things and non-fraternity men are not because they would be freeloading is the idea that women who are invited are, in his mind, engaging in a sort of transaction for admission and use of those goods. This transaction could be a positive impact on the fraternity's reputation or something else, but considering what the literature tells us, it seems that this transaction is at least nominally the possibility of engaging in some sort of sexual activity with fraternity members. This, in addition to the way that non-fraternity men are kept

out, shows how access to women who attend these parties is a privilege that is bestowed upon men upon gaining membership in this group and that this is an aspect of privilege in a hierarchical homosocial relationship. Here we can see how there is a connection between hierarchical homosocial arrangements and predatory partying practices.

The other important aspect is the role of "risk management". Risk management encompasses all of the aspects of safety at a party including sexual assault prevention. It was fortunate for me to have interviewed a fraternity member, a sixth semester economics major, who identified himself as his fraternity's risk manager. He spoke briefly about how, "the previous two people who were in this position were in" a group focused on masculinity and violence prevention at the "Women's Center and one of their big take-aways… was like to promote more of a safe environment for our guests, which is how like a lot of our policies like having water at every event and like having an extra amount of people in every room or like rotating there abouts so definitely like a priority". This illustrates at least a desire to make these parties safe. At the conclusions of these retrospective accounts I asked participants if they had enjoyed the party. When I asked this participant he responded, "It was a good event… Thankfully because of the precautions we take we haven't had any issues at an event, and by issue I mean something like a sexual assault or an assault in general or any like a crime or anything like that." This sentiment of having "no issues" was reflected by a few other participants as well. That being said, whether this is entirely altruism or if it is to preserve reputation or prevent legal liability or both is fairly unclear, but there is at least some effort being made internally by fraternities to prevent such incidences.

Conclusion

While much of the literature on sexual assault in a fraternity context pose fraternity men as intentionally predatory, this is not how men understand themselves in this context. On the contrary, fraternity men genuinely see themselves has having a responsibility to protect their guests at their parties. This comes in the form of risk management. However, the way that risk management is conducted by fraternities is, I argue, fundamentally flawed. Fraternities orient their policies to protect their guest from outside threats which is why they control guest lists so tightly. But this ignores the real dynamics of sexual violence. This is to say that fraternity men do not have an understanding of the fine lines between consensual sex and sexual assault as outlined by scholars like MacKinnon and Gavey. This is dangerous due to the widespread acceptance of expectations of sexual activity in party contexts in which drugs and alcohol are present and people are generally inebriated with those substances. Instead, fraternity men stressed the existence of a gray area of consent where it was acceptable to engage in sexual activity while impaired.

This gray area could also be found in how participants defined consent. It is true that the data shows that participants had a fairly good understanding of this concept. At its core most fraternity men understand that consent must include affirmative words, a mutual agreement, and cannot be given by an incapacitated person. However, these understandings of consent are troublingly deficient in their understanding of who is responsible to obtain consent. Additionally, many participants articulated the existence of a gray area when it comes to sexual contact and consent. This specifically revolved around the issue of a drunk or high person consenting and what counted as "incapacitated". It is this gray area that is so dangerous and that creates space for sexual violence to happen.

The literature makes it clear that sexual violence is an issue of power and domination, however, this study was not able to address those issues directly. But the data that this study provides suggests two other findings. The first of these is that there is a clear connection between hierarchical homosocial arrangements within a fraternity and predatory aspects in fraternity parties. This supports the theories of Martin and Hummer as well as Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney. The other is that there is at least some danger that exists in terms of sexual assault in the fraternity context, and in the partying context more broadly, due to shared cultural norms about gray areas in the arena of consent and the acceptability of mixing sexual activity and mind-altering substances. Both of these add danger to the already high-risk situations of a fraternity party. Prevention programs and risk management need to be reoriented to address these broader cultural understandings because until they are, they will not be addressing some of the underlying issues of rape culture.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Conclusions

In this thesis I have attempted to take the reader through various concepts that are concerned with gender among fraternity men. Each chapter has tackled a concept and provided new data, analysis, and conclusions on that concept. In this concluding chapter, I highlight the main takeaway from each chapter and expound on their implications.

There are four main conclusions:

1. Participants have adopted a relaxed attitude towards gender expressions and generally showed relaxed gender ideology. While on the surface, this may seem progressive, I argue that it is, in fact, an attempt to shield themselves from scrutiny regarding the hegemonic aspects of masculinity.
2. Masculinity is more complicated than just stereotypically hegemonic attributes. It also has an additive quality in which more feminine qualities are desirable and made masculine when performed by someone who already exemplifies the masculine ideal.
3. Existing theory rightly examines the ways that male homosocial institutions protect and transmit power. However, there are elements of emotional support and nonprofitable friendship in these arrangements that is lacking for men elsewhere.
4. While the ways that power, dominance, and masculinity affect sexual violence are myriad, I also argue that commonly held ideas about the expectation of engaging in sexual activity while intoxicated and with intoxicated persons as well as the acceptability of this type of behavior form a pervasive aspect of rape culture that has yet to be fully addressed.

All together and independently these main findings have important theoretical ramifications as well as possible impacts on feminist praxis.

Theoretical Implications

One of the main theoretical issues highlighted is the need for a nexus between fieldwork and theory. The conclusions that I have drawn from this work, specifically the second and third, illustrate the deficiency of theory on its own. For example, without understanding the views of fraternity men, the ways which the fraternity setting meets some of their emotional needs would have been lost. This shows how grounding theory in field work can enrich our understandings of the people whom we study. Fieldwork allows us to understand in greater detail the social contours of the groups we study. In doing so, we as scholars can map a more detailed vision of the world that will enable us to diagnose and address the world's challenges more effectively.

Praxis & Practical Implications

The most important way that my conclusions impact feminists practically and feminist praxis is that they show us as feminists that men and masculinities are more complicated than we may have assumed. As has been shown by various male feminist activists, it is important to work with men in order to work towards healthier masculinities. In doing so we can enlist men to do feminist work in their own lives and as part of the feminist movement. In order to do this and to communicate feminist messages to men we (especially myself as a male feminist) must meet men where they are. This is to say that feminist theory on men needs to accurately reflect their lives and their experiences in order to open doors of conversation and engagement with feminist thought. I would argue that it is much more difficult for men to ignore or write off

feminist theory if we are able to more accurately reflect elements of what they see in their own lives. Thus, we must be working to understand more and more about the true contours of masculinity if the feminist movement hopes to create a multi-gendered movement that works to tear down structures of oppression. To be clear, I am not arguing that we must sanitize our theories and praxes in order to make it palatable for men in the hope of creating allies. On the contrary, this would all be for naught if we were to lose sight of the harsh realities that motivate feminist politics. However, in order to open doors, our theories must be rooted in the diverse and complex lived experiences of all people.

Further Research

In many ways this research has provided more questions than answers and it has given me so many more ideas for future research. For example, this research has shed light on why we need to learn more about how men conceive of masculinity. However, this is not the only topic about which ideas for further research have spawned.

Another place where more research could be done is a similar study as the one I have already conducted as it pertains to definitions of consent, but with various other populations. Just as this research showed the deficiency of fraternity men to understand the responsibility of the initiator in precuring consent, other research could provide similar insights into how other populations conceive of consent by way of their definitions. A large-scale study of this kind that includes many different populations could provide a large amount of insightful data on this basic concept surrounding sexual assault.

The largest issue that this investigation has encouraged me to pursue further research, however, is on the topic of homosociality. While anthropologists have often studied homosocial

groups, much like anthropologists long failed to study men as gendered beings, anthropologists have also often failed to study homosocial groups as gendered cohorts. Just as this study was able to show that male homosociality is more complex than theory suggested, other homosocial groups might be more complex as well. There are countless opportunities to expand this literature with different types of homosocial arrangements engaged in by different types of people that is still waiting to be written.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Listed Terms	Original Frequency	Edited Frequency	Compounded Terms
Strong	11	14	physically dominant, tough, big
Funny	2	4	goofy, fun
Stupid	2	4	dumb, ignorant
Intense	1	3	passionate, dedicated
Loud	1	3	irritating, rowdy
Risk-taking	2	3	reckless
Smart	2	3	intelligent
Stubborn	2	3	strong-headed
Aggressive	2	2	
Careless	1	2	unthinking
Caring	1	2	compassionate
Hardworking	2	2	
Privileged	1	2	empowered
Weak	2	2	
Emotionless	2	2	
Bold	1	1	
Brave	1	1	
Childish	1	1	
Competitive	1	1	
Confident	1	1	
Dedicated	1	1	
Disorganized	1	1	
Egotistic	1	1	
Excitable	1	1	
Focused	1	1	
Humble	1	1	
Irresponsible	1	1	
Irritating	1	1	
Kind	1	1	
Macho	1	1	
Misunderstood	1	1	
Naïve	1	1	
Protective	1	1	
Resilient	1	1	
Responsible	1	1	
Selfish	1	1	

Short-tempered	1	1
Trusting	1	1

Appendix 2

Listed Terms	Original Frequency	Edited Frequency	Compounded Terms
Strong	9	9	
Caring	5	6	nurturing
Emotional	6	6	
Funny	1	3	fun, goofy
Smart	3	3	intellgent
Weak	2	3	small
Careful	1	2	care taking
Creative	2	2	
Independent	2	2	
Loving	2	2	
Nice	2	2	
Responsible	2	2	
Thoughtful	2	2	
Organized	1	2	neat
Beautiful	1	1	
Brave	1	1	
Collaborative	1	1	
Comforting	1	1	
Complex	1	1	
Crazy	1	1	
Dramatic	1	1	
Excitable	1	1	
Fancy	1	1	
Feminine	1	1	
Fragile	1	1	
Fierce	1	1	
Gentle	1	1	
Helpful	1	1	
Intense	1	1	
Loud	1	1	
Passionate	1	1	
Persistent	1	1	
Protective	1	1	
Resilient	1	1	
Short-tempered	1	1	
Sympathetic	1	1	

Soft	1	1
Stubborn	1	1
Stupid	1	1
Subtle	1	1
Wise	1	1

Appendix 3

Response	Code
Aggressive	AGG
Beautiful	BEAUT
Bold	BOLD
Brave	BRAVE
Careful	CAREF
Careless	CARELS
Caring	CARG
Collaborative	COLAB
Comforting	COMFT
Competitive	COMP
Confident	CONFD
Crazy	CRZY
Creative	CREAT
Dedicated	DEDIC
Disorganized	DISORG
Dramatic	DRAMA
Egotistic	EGO
Emotional	EMOT
Emotionless	NOEMOT
Excitable	EXCIT
Fancy	FANC
Feminine	FEM
Fierce	FRCE
Focused	FOCUS
Fragile	FRAG
Funny	FUNY
Gentle	GENTL
Hardworking	HRDWK
Helpful	HLPFL
Humble	HUMB
Independent	INDY
Intense	INTNS
Irresponsible	IRRESP
Irritating	IRRT
Kind	KIND
Loud	LOUD
Loving	LOVE
Macho	MACHO
Naïve	NAÏVE
Nice	NICE
Organized	ORGN
Passionate	PASSN
Persistent	PRSIST
Protective	PROTCT
Resilient	RSLNT
Responsible	RESP
Risk-taking	RISK
Selfish	SELF
Short-tempered	SHTEMP
Smart	SMRT
Smypathetic	SYMP
Soft	SOFT
Strong	STRNG
Stubborn	STUB
Stupid	STUPD
Subtle	SBLT
Thoughtful	THTFL
Trusting	TRST
Weak	WEAK
Wise	WISE

Appendix 4

Listed Terms	Original Frequency	Edited Frequency	Compounded Terms
Being honest	1	6	able to be honest, able to admit wrongs, admitting mistakes, honest, truthful
Being emotional	1	4	being emotionally supportive, being thoughtful, opening up
Being helpful	1	4	caring for friends and family, making others better, helping others
Being physically strong	1	4	wieght lifting, being fit, playing sports
Being well rounded	1	4	managing responsibilities, balancing school and social, able to balance
Being humble	1	3	able to be humble, able to apologize
Being open minded	1	3	willing to change their mind, listening to others
Being powerful	1	3	authority, taking charge
Being respectful	1	3	showing respect, respecting others
Standing up for beliefs	3	3	
Being aggressive	1	2	aggressive
Being level headed	1	2	making tough choices
Being skilled	1	2	working on cars
Being vulnerable	1	2	crying
Defending others	1	2	willing to defend others
Having self control	2	2	
Not being macho	1	2	not proving dominance
Not hurting others	1	2	not putting others down
Not showing weakness	1	2	not showing negative emotions
Respecting women	2	2	
Being brave	1	1	
Being compassionate	1	1	
Being confident	1	1	
Being considerate	1	1	
Being faithful	1	1	
Being hardworking	1	1	
Being kind	1	1	

Being mentally strong	1	1
Being self-advocating	1	1
Being slow to anger	1	1
Being themselves	1	1
Being tough	1	1
Defying expectation	1	1
Fighting for what they want	1	1
Having a steady relationship	1	1
Having money	1	1
Not taking shit	1	1
Providing for others	1	1
Showing leadership	1	1
Standing up for themselves	1	1
Taking responsibility	1	1

Appendix 5

Response	Code
Crying	CRY
Dancing	DANCE
Decreased inhibitions	DIHNIB
Dirty dancing	DTDNC
Drinking	DRINK
Drug use	DRUG
Fighting	FGHT
Having fun	FUN
Hooking up	HOOK
Getting rowdy	ROWDY
Getting too drunk	DRUNK
Kissing	KISS
Leaving with other people	LEAVE
Listening to music	MUSIC
Making mistakes	MSTAKE
Making new friends	NEWFRD
Making out	MAKO
Passing out	PASSO
Respecting women	RESPW
Risk management	RSKMNG
Sex	SEX
Sexual assault	SASS
Smoking	SMK
Sober driving	SOBDRV
Socializing	SOCL
Staying sober	STAYSOB
Taking care of others	CAREOTR
Talking	TALK
Throwing up	THRUP
Yelling	YELL